HOLIDAY BUYING SERVICE SPECIALS: 4 EXTRA PAGES OF SUPERB VALUES

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
15 cents
VOL. 12, NO. 2 NEW YORK, OCTOBER 26, 1959

LABOR'S FUTURE AT STAKE

T-H act invoked to bail out industry as pinch of steel strike is felt

By Robert E. Light

BY THE FIRST WEEK in October the steel companies were beginning to feel the pinch for the first time since the strike began last July 15. Stockpiles of the companies' leading customers, piled high in anticipation of the strike, were now at a critically low level. General Motors had to lay off 60,000 workers and was in danger of suspending operations by the end of the month. Across the country there were almost 250,000 unemployed because of the steel shortage. Robert G. Welch, executive vice president of the American Steel Warehouse Assn., summed up: "We are running out of gas."

Also, if the strike continued, there was a danger that the companies would not be able to get iron ore down the Great Lakes before the winter freeze.

To the 500,000 strikers it seemed the tide was finally turning in their favor.

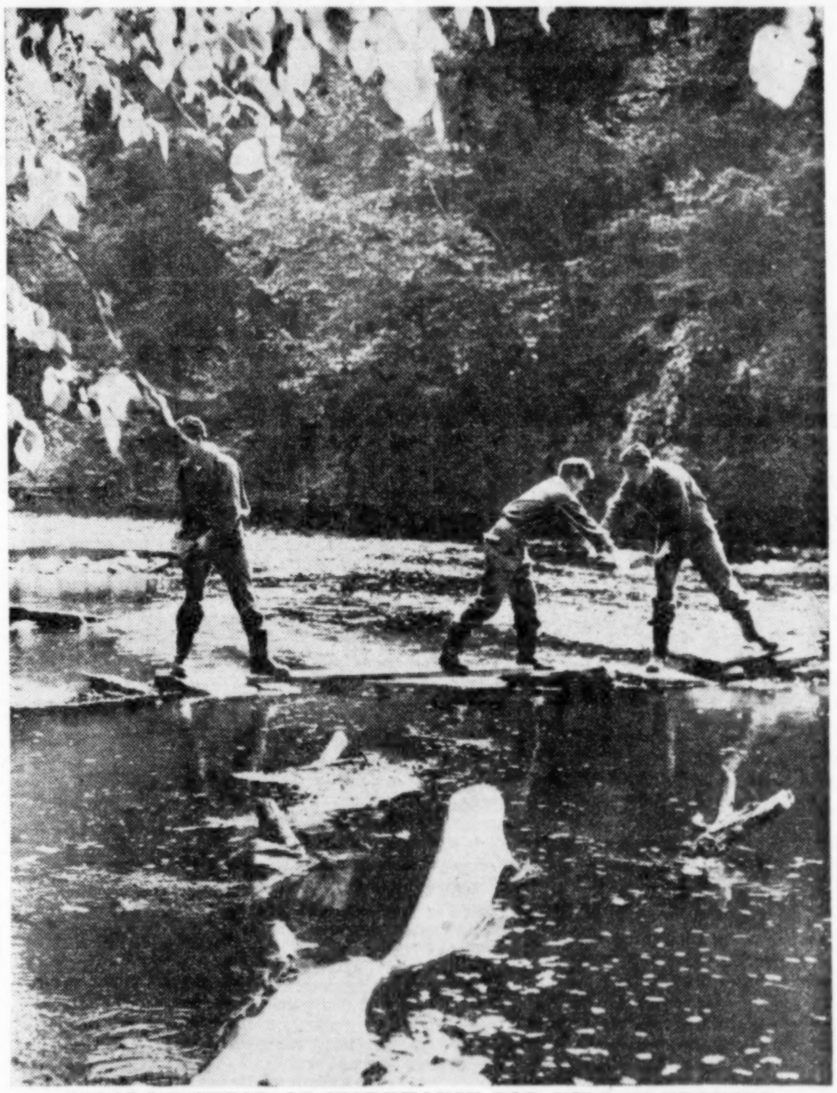
But on Oct. 9, soon after he returned from a Palm Springs vacation at the home of George E. Allen, a director of the Republic Steel Corp., President Eisenhower took the first step toward sending the strikers back to the mills under a Taft-Hartley injunction. He appointed a three-man board of inquiry to see if the strike constituted a "danger to the national health and safety." Until that time the President had insisted that he wanted the issue settled through direct negotiations.

TRUMP CARD: He seemed reluctant to invoke Taft-Hartley because under present law it represents his trump card. If the steel workers resume their strike after an 80-day "cooling off" period, there are few moves left to the White House short of taking over the industry. Also, the 80-day period would end in January and the Administration did not seem to relish the prospect of going into a Presidential election year with a major strike in the country.

For the board's chairman, President Eisenhower chose Dr. George W. Taylor, professor of labor relations at the U. of Pennsylvania, who was on record against T-H injunctions. Taylor had written a book in which he proposed that T-H boards of inquiry should serve as mediators rather than merely as fact-finding bodies. With apparent White House approval, he set about putting his theory to work. He announced: "We are going to do everything within our powers under the act to narrow the differences between the parties."

At the board's first sessions, union

(Continued on Page 14)



WOODS INSTEAD OF WORKHOUSE FOR KIDS IN TROUBLE
The idea is catching on that productive outdoor labor is better treatment for youthful offenders than the nightstick and the jail cell. This is a new work camp in Mohican Forest in Ohio. See story below.

DE GAULLE AND ADENAUER DRAG THEIR FEET

West plans summit but clings to cold war

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE ICE-MELTING period following the Khrushchev-Eisenhower talks, the U.S. and its allies were in the contradictory position of apparently preparing for a summit meeting by next January at the latest, but at the same time pursuing cold war policies without a break.

British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, with a popular mandate for peaceful coexistence, was pushing hardest for a top-level conference in Geneva in early December. He was anxious to take advantage of the glow of the Camp David talks before it faded. He believed an early meeting might produce at least an interim West Berlin settlement and a nuclear test ban.

President Eisenhower was said to be in favor of a December meeting. But others in Washington were reportedly balking at the pace London wished to set. They seemed to prefer to wait until after January 1, when a Presidential commission now reviewing the whole disarmament question makes its report. The U.S. believed a summit conference would be more productive on disarmament than on West Berlin or suspension of tests.

ON THE THRESHOLD: Despite some difference in hoped for results, Eisenhower and Macmillan seemed to agree on the need for a summit meeting. Recently even U.S. Ambassador to the UN Henry Cabot Lodge, ignoring an invitation to bait Khrushchev at a National Press Club interview, said: "We may be on the threshold of setting up new methods for dealing with each other on international problems."

Macmillan has been predicting a series of summit meetings at which outstanding East-West conflicts would be gradually resolved. Britain noted that Moscow has made a number of concessions on disarmament. It has, for instance, agreed on a plan of control to develop simultaneously with stages of disarmament; on reducing conventional armaments at an early stage, although the West believes the Soviet Union is more advanced in such weapons; and on transferring from first to the last stage the liquidation of

(Continued on Page 14)

PROPERTY, PROFITS AND HYPOCRISY

Who's delinquent: Kids or the society they live in?

By Louis E. Burnham

OPPOSITION to the "Night Stick Cure" for juvenile delinquency is but the beginning of wisdom. An impressive cross-section of sociologists, psychiatrists, social workers, youth work specialists and enlightened penal authorities recognize that in this field the punishment often aggravates the conditions which caused the "crime."

Unfortunately, this group does not ordinarily include politicians. The office holders' sensitivity to "public opinion" is nowhere better illustrated than in their response to the newspapers' recurrent campaigns for crackdowns on "young toughs."

In New York the City Council has recently passed a bill holding parents accountable for acts of vandalism of their minor children. Under its provisions the "offending" parent may be fined up to $25 to compensate for the damage done.

PROGRAMS PLUS: On another front, Mayor Robert F. Wagner appointed a committee to draw up a "preventive program" for the city. The planners included the City Administrator, the Corporation Counsel, the city's five District Attorneys and representatives of the police department and the New York City Youth Board.

Their proposals included: stricter penalties for carrying guns, knives or other weapons; tighter restrictions on street gang gatherings; licensing dealers in rifles, shotguns and ammunition, and lowering the age at which youth may be tried for serious crimes from 16 to 15.

While the Mayor was calling for early consideration of these measures by the state legislature, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller was rounding out the personnel of a special state task force on juvenile crime, headed by Whitney Debevoise, a Wall Street lawyer.

WHO SOWS THE SEED? The response of the professionals to the haste of the

(Continued on Page 13)

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THE MAIL BAG

Vol. 12 No. 1

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Hurrah for a Guardian birthday again,
My favorite paper **chaque semaine.**

Frabjous fete, calloo callay,
Or as Khrushchev says, okay.

For whenever I require a synonym for glum,
I contemplate a Friday when the GUARDIAN won't come.

As a flutist's lost without his flute,
The GUARDIAN I need **sans doute.**

Like a Du Pont likes his G.M. share,
I like my mailbox with the GUARDIAN there.

Now Rocky's got his shelter plan,
But I put my faith in GUARDIAN man.

May co-existence show more co,
And the GUARDIAN'S contributions grow.

Let matters not rest here obliquely:
Congratulations, progressive weekly!

Eve Merriam

Pauling speaks out

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Geneva Conference on nuclear disarmament reconvenes Oct. 27. On Sunday, Oct. 25, at Carnegie Hall in New York, Dr. Linus Pauling will speak on "Radiation and International Agreement." Other speakers will be Stanley M. Isaacs, Clarence Pickett and Orson Bean.

An overflowing house would be an important demonstration of support for the relaxation of tensions begun by the Khrushchev visit.

Henry Abrams

•

WESTMOUNT, QUE.

Dr. Pauling addressed an overflow meeting in this city under the auspices of the Montreal Committee to Control Radiation Hazards. He pleaded for a rational approach to solving the crucial question of our time, peace or war, and was given deafening applause by his audience. This audience, incidentally, was drawn from many strata: French Canadian priests, intellectuals, needleworkers, professional people. The evening was alive and as tingling as a cold shower.

Louise Harvey

•

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Thanks for the boost you gave the two **Liberation** reprints—"Every Test Kills," by Pauling and "Getting Rid of War," by A. J. Muste. Partly because of those who responded from the GUARDIAN, we have now sold completely out of the Pauling leaflet.

David McReynolds

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Earlier the conference [of the Natl. Assn. of Intergroup Relations officials, meeting at San Juan, Puerto Rico] . . . heard George C. Lodge, Asst. Secy. of Labor for International Affairs, describe discrimination and intolerance as intimate instinctive traits of man and animals.

He assailed as "sentimental gush" the lyrics of Oscar Hammerstein II in the song, "You've Got to Be Taught," from the musical comedy "South Pacific."

"That song, which says that children are tolerant and that all intolerance is learned from adults, is pure poppycock," said Mr. Lodge.

"The unfortunate fact is that wherever people are herded together, whether in a schoolyard or a housing development or a jungle village, discrimination and intolerance are instinctive. It is tolerance that must be taught."

—The New York **Times,** 10/15/59

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading Be sure to send original clip with each entry Winner this week: J. M., New York, N.Y.

•

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

The thanks of all my family to you for printing Linus Pauling's remarkable Hiroshima address, "The Choice Before Mankind" (Sept. 21). This service alone justifies the existence of our GUARDIAN and all the outpouring of energy and thought that keeps it in the forefront of American journalism.

Holland Roberts

Anna Pearl

BRONX, N.Y.

Enclosed contribution in memory of Anna Pearl.

Mosholu friends

Bob Goodwin

LYNN, MASS.

On Sept. 26 Robert L. Goodwin died of the incurable disease, lateral sclerosis. For many years, Bob was recording secretary at the General Electric plant in Lynn for the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers Union.

Bob startled Sen. McCarthy and his investigators in Boston in 1953 when he shouted at the committee "I want the right to cross-examine this witness" (a professional informer named Teto). After this incident, the Senate probers found themselves challenged in every city they visited. Bob was suspended and later discharged by G.E. for the use of the 5th Amendment and he became self-employed as a painter and wall paperer.

Goodwin was proud of his Irish-American working class background. He was born 45 years ago in South Boston. He leaves a fine family of three daughters and a son. His wife Mildred Bailin Goodwin fought side by side with him.

Friends

Mr. K's visit

BALDWIN, L.I.

A friend of mine in Brooklyn sent me a copy of your Oct. 5 issue and I read it from cover to cover. Your report of Mr. Khrushchev's journey warmed my heart. I had previously followed his every step and all his speeches in the N. Y. **Times** and had carefully read the deplorably brainwashed items in **Time.** The faithful and sincere coverage in the GUARDIAN was a revelation to me. Please accept my deepest admiration for the work you have done.

Matthew A. Callender

•

JAMAICA, N.Y.

Your account of the Khrushchev visit in the GUARDIAN is the finest, fairest and fullest that has thus far appeared. Superb!

Styles McOwen

•

DREXEL HILL, PA.

Enjoyed reading James Aronson's report immensely.

Leon Kazanjian

•

WINFIELD, KANS.

If, when and as American labor leaders explain why Gompers instead of Debs is their patron saint, they may also reveal the reason for requiring secrecy in their conference with the Russian Premier. They must know we shall have the truth later and from unimpeachable sources.

L. A. Stratton

Wall Street Journal

"OK, I have mandibular hyperostosis—what's that mean in dollars and cents?"

The Boffa book

MUSKOGEE, OKLA.

I finished reading Guiseppe Boffa's **Inside the Khrushchev Era** last night. This wonderful book tells of the return to pioneering and forging ahead of the U.S.S.R. on the great Leninist road. No book in the U.S. today and for some time to come will profit a reader more. May it receive the readership it so profoundly deserves.

Raymond Rector

For Aubrey Williams

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

On Oct. 1 Aubrey W. Williams, president of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, underwent an operation for adhesions in the intestinal tract. For about a week his recovery appeared to be normal and satisfactory, but on Oct. 8 he took a turn for the worse.

He had a very bad weekend with nurses around the clock but, fortunately, rallied.

Monday morning his condition was decidedly better and he continues to improve, but he remains a sick man.

For years Aubrey has been almost the only white man in Alabama to speak out boldly in defense of the rights of Negroes. But he has paid a heavy price. Ostracized by the community, he is forced to live a pretty lonely life.

With his physical resources at low ebb, Aubrey desperately needs the spiritual strength that comes from knowing there are many who love him and need him. He will not receive much love and appreciation in Montgomery, thus his friends elsewhere can be helpful in this time of crisis.

Your telegrams, letters, prayers and messages of love and appreciation for all he has meant to his friends, to the South, and to the world, will help to sustain him in his fight to regain his health.

Do not send flowers, he will not have them in his room.

Address: Aubrey W. Williams
Professional Center
Hospital
Montgomery, Alabama

James Dombrowski

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE WORDS SPOKEN TO US in Washington and New York by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru suggest the possibility that in the ancient wisdom of the new sovereign India our insatiable policy of world division may have met the immovable object. India, he insists to our face, will remain aloof, seeking to work out the destiny of her millions, "not by talking and preparing for war," but by not compromising with "evil and injustice."

The Shah of Iran is coming next; and Lowell Thomas is just back from Tibet with a report that the world-forgetting lamas might welcome our military mission when it is through in Greece. But Iran, already a link in our cordon sanitaire, is small potatoes; and Shangri La would be merely an adornment on our battlements.

What our general staff wants is vast India for a roadblock against the tide of revolution in Asia. It would be aggravating if—as Nehru suggests—India refused to see that America's first line of defense now runs along the crest of the Himalayas.

—Jennings Perry in the Guardian Oct. 24, 1949.

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Vol. 12, No. 2 401 October 26, 1959

REPORT TO READERS

Pere Noel & Co.

ELEVEN YEARS AGO at this time, the urchin we have all come to know as the GUARDIAN Angel was just trying his wings; and across the sea Pablo Picasso was releasing for first flight the somewhat rumpled dove which has since become the symbol of the world peace movement.

None of us had any doubt then that Picasso's gentle work would endure for years to come; but hardly any one would have ventured out on the limb far enough to predict that the GUARDIAN and its impish Angel would last out the first season (Fall, 1948), much less the decade. We say "hardly" because there was at least one subscriber in our infant weeks who did think we could make a go of it, and offered a formula for our longevity:

"Strike," he prescribed, "with the logic of facts on the anvil of time, and the sparks will illuminate the wisdom of centuries."

So we have pounded the anvil in the manner prescribed ever since; but while illumination is a fine thing, we found out that, all by itself, it didn't pay the printer.

So along with our anvil-pounding, it has been necessary for most of our years since to seek additional means of lighting the way ahead. And one of these means—our Guardian Buying Service—has been setting its wares before you, in special array, each year about this time, we hope as a service to you in your Holiday shopping, but certainly as a very essential way of keeping the fires stoked back here in the anvil-poundery.

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON (which is closer at hand than you think!) we count as especially fortunate for us. We have managed, by getting on the good side of the Great Man through the French Peace Committee, to get an exclusive Piccaso Christmas card—his Pere Noel. And, to keep the good Pere company, our GUARDIAN Angel has turned caroler for the season in another set of holiday greeting cards. Then for good measure a fashion illustrator friend of ours has designed a third set of cards which are lovely and colorful, and perhaps more serene than the others.

All our Holiday wares—or as many of them as we could squeeze into the space—are shown on pages 7-10 of this issue. We've tried to figure out something for all the ages of man, woman, and child, and for uncles, aunts and other kith and kin as well. There are books and toys for the young and very young, microscopes and binoculars for all ages, typewriters for the student set as well as for the old folks at home, imported linens and cutlery for the table, scarves from Japan and gay caps from Yugoslavia for the lasses, fistfuls of the fanciest Madison Avenue ties for the men in your life (at off-Madison Ave. prices!), LP records for everyone from the folksay set to the hi-fi connoisseur—all at the lowest prices we could figure out, and all postpaid even if you live in the 49th or 50th State, Puerto Rico, Canada or the Dry Tortugas.

WE KEEP THINKING of ways to help you introduce others to the GUARDIAN, and just about the best way at this time of the year is via the Guardian Buying Service Holiday gift pages. We hope you will keep this week's GUARDIAN around the house for the weeks until Holiday time, not only for your own shopping needs, but to show to visitors for theirs. The Picasso cards, for example, or the several other Picassos offered in print-size for framing, are exclusively ours and yours for the purpose of making new friends.

COMING BACK to our first-paragraph reminiscences, old-time subscribers will recall that not only Picasso, but the GUARDIAN, too, entered a Peace Dove into the lists in our earliest days—a sometimes worried-looking chit bearing an olive branch in its beak and quite clearly looking for a safe landing somewhere in a storm-tossed world. Well, a silversmith friend of ours got the idea of immortalizing the GUARDIAN's Peace Dove, perhaps as a kind of recognition pin among GUARDIAN subscribers, but also for the little bird's own personal charm.

So, back on P 9, right up there with the best buys of the season, you will find our wistful warbler cast in sterling silver in the form of cuff links, tie-tacks, earrings or pendant pins. May he land among your treasures, along with his burden of peace, in this our year of grace, 1959.

—THE GUARDIAN . .

AN INTERVIEW WITH HELEN SOBELL

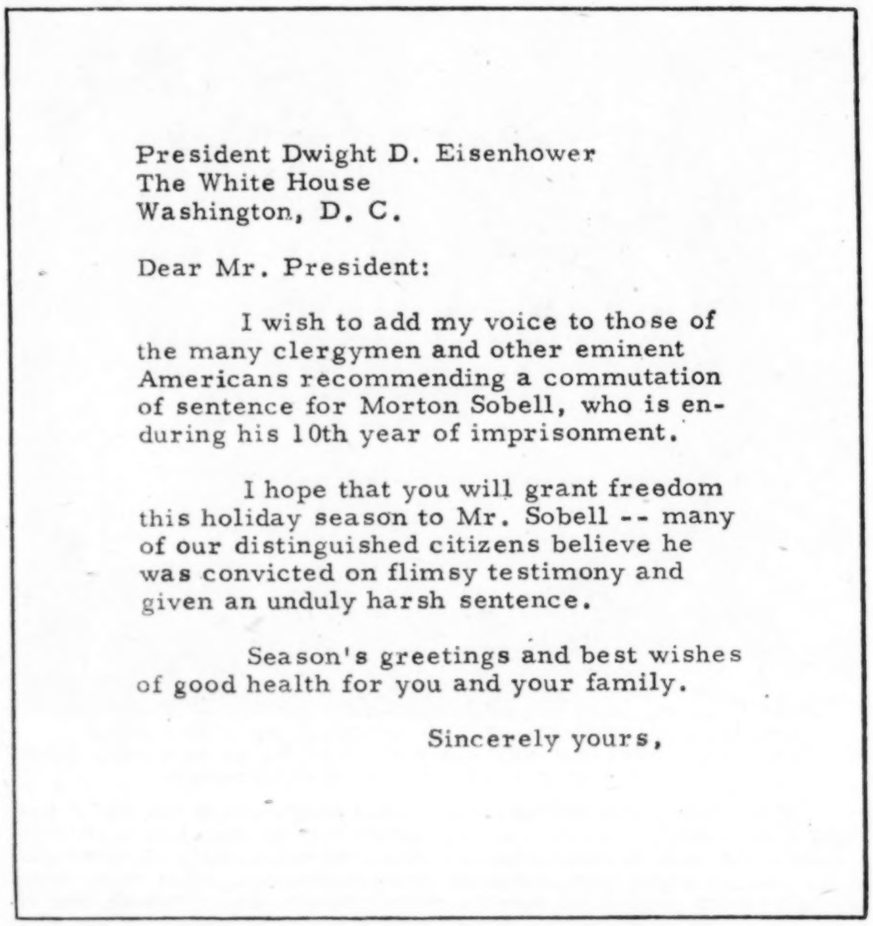
'If every Guardian reader sent a letter...'

TIME is the crucial element in the lives of Morton Sobell's family. He has wasted for more than nine years in Federal penitentiaries, an innocent sacrifice to Cold War myths. His family has never lost faith that in time he will be freed and vindicated. But they are impatient with history's slow pace. The time is ripe for Morton's release, they believe. And they live for the day when the deep personal wounds can begin to heal.

Helen Sobell, perhaps more than anyone, is aware of the passing of time. During her husband's imprisonment she has worked in complete dedication for their reunion. Now she feels that day is not far off. She points out that the popular myths of the period of Morton's trial have for the most part been dispelled. In 1951 Americans could accept the fact of Russian atomic weapons only as a result of espionage. But now with luniks and sputniks in the universe, even William Randolph Hearst asks: "If the Russians have been stealing our secrets, where are the carbon copies?"

A TIME OF CONSCIENCE: She also takes heart, she told the GUARDIAN last week, from the eased international tensions, evidenced by the Khrushchev visit, and the dampened hysteria at home. In explanation of why prominent people are more readily lending their names in Morton's behalf, a community leader told her recently: "We are living in a period of conscience." But it is the time gap between conscience and restitution that concerns the Sobells.

Morton is 42 years old, Helen is 41. They want another child (they have a son, Mark, 10) and they know the time for fulfilling this wish is short. On April 23 Helen wrote to Federal Prison Director James V. Bennett and asked if there were non-publicized methods for handling this problem. (There are such provisions in prisons in Mexico, the Scandinavian countries, the U.S.S.R. and in a Mississippi state jail.) Two weeks later the Dept. of Justice replied that Federal regulations do not permit conjugal visits by prisoners' wives. On Sept. 29 the Justice Dept. made the exchange public.



President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I wish to add my voice to those of the many clergymen and other eminent Americans recommending a commutation of sentence for Morton Sobell, who is enduring his 10th year of imprisonment.

I hope that you will grant freedom this holiday season to Mr. Sobell -- many of our distinguished citizens believe he was convicted on flimsy testimony and given an unduly harsh sentence.

Season's greetings and best wishes of good health for you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

THIS APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT IS AVAILABLE IN QUANTITY
Or you can clip and mail this; better yet, write your own

ON THE HILL: But above all, the Sobells prefer to resume their marriage under normal conditions. And Helen is spending every available moment gathering support for a campaign for a Presidential commutation of Morton's sentence. In the spring she went to Washington and saw several Senators and Congressmen. Many expressed interest in the case but were cautious about committing themselves publicly. But three—Sen. Frank E. Moss (R-Utah) and Reps. William Meyer (D-Vt.) and Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.)—wrote to President Eisenhower requesting White House action. Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.) had previously spoken publicly for Sobell. Others indicated they would write later but they did not want publicity.

Helen spent most of the summer on a West Coast tour arranged by the Western Region Sobell Committees. She visited Vancouver, Seattle, Portland, San Francisco, Fresno, San Diego, Los Angeles and Phoenix. Everywhere her reception was warmer than ever before. In each city she met individually and in groups with local legislators, clergy, lawyers, unionists and other community leaders. She was interviewed on radio and television and stories of her visit were carried in all the major papers. The press treatment generally was fair and accurate and, in some places, openly sympathetic. Thirty union papers carried a syndicated interview.

NATIONAL CAMPAIGN: In Los Angeles a top television star sent 100 letters to friends suggesting their interest in the case. (Helen was to appear on Dan Lundberg's TV interview program in Los Angeles on Oct. 25.)

For the holiday season a nation-wide campaign is planned for letters to President Eisenhower (see reproduction on this page) asking for Morton's freedom. In a similar campaign last year more than 10,000 messages were sent to the White House. An Eastern regional conference is tentatively scheduled for Nov. 7 in New York to coordinate the campaign.

In a special appeal, Helen Sobell told the GUARDIAN: "If every reader of your paper sent a letter to President Eisenhower, Morton might well spend the next holidays with his family."

Copies of the letter may be obtained from the Natl. Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, 940 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. Contributions may also be sent to that address.

BARS TO INTEGRATION UPHELD

Supreme Court's first decision day is weak on civil rights and liberties

A NUMBER OF FACTORS aggravate any effort to interpret the Supreme Court record in terms of liberal or conservative trends. For one, the Court always skirts larger constitutional issues in favor of the narrowest ground available for decision. As a result, many verdicts hailed as great victories often turn out to be strictly limited in later similar cases.

Trend-spotting the Court is further complicated by the degree of sensitivity of each Justice to public opinion. On key questions of national policy the Court generally registers, rather than sets, the public temper.

For these reasons, the decisions of the first business day of the Court's new session—Oct. 12—cannot be computed for a plus or minus sum that is likely to hold for the rest of the session. But it can be said that, after one decision-day, advocates of civil rights and liberties came out on the short end of the count.

VITAL RULINGS: Key decisions were in the Uphaus and Barenblatt contempt cases (GUARDIAN Oct. 19) and two North Carolina pupil placement cases.

By refusing to review two challenges to the North Carolina pupil placement statute, the Court reaffirmed the position it had adopted in a 1957 case: that the law is valid on its face. The Court reached the same conclusion in 1958 regarding a similar Alabama enactment.

Since the 1954 decision outlawing segregation in public schools, eight Southern states have passed pupil assignment laws. While scrupulously avoiding mention of race, in contrast to former jim-crow laws, they empower some state body—often the school board—to pass on a student's application for transfer from one school to another. A long list of criteria, including academic qualifications, school crowding, the possibility of disorder, and the intelligence, psychological adjustment, health, character and morals of the petitioning student provide authorities with wide discretionary powers in rejecting applicants.

INTEGRATION BLOCKED: The pupil placement law in North Carolina is in its fifth year of operation. Under it, only 50 Negro children have been admitted to white schools.

Opponents of the laws have argued that they defeat the intent of the original Supreme Court segregation decisions. In the 1954 case the Court declared segregation unconstitutional; in its 1955 decree, it enjoined the states to eliminate it "with all deliberate speed."

The pupil placement laws, however, relieve the states of responsibility for initiating desegregation. They are based on the assumption that two separate school systems exist and will continue to exist for white and Negro pupils. Any change must now depend on the initiative of the Negro student who seeks to enter a white school. Class suits, under which Federal courts previously ordered the doors of white schools opened to a Negro plaintiff and all children similarly situated, are ruled out. Each application must stand or fall on its own "merits."

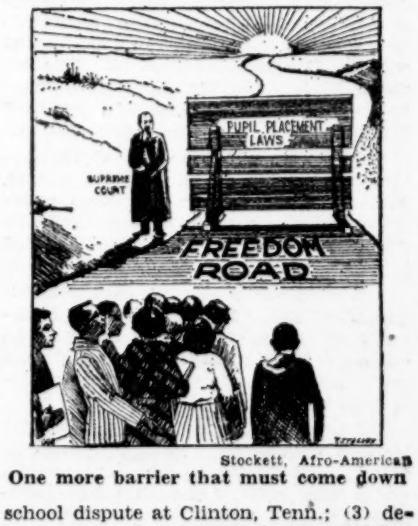
HEAVY BURDEN: This places on the Negro community a heavy and almost intolerable burden. Presumably, out of the nearly 2,000,000 Negro pupils in the eight states involved, each who is turned down by a pupil placement board must carry his case through the stages of administrative appeal and, where necessary, through the Federal courts, in order to win a reversal. The time and money involved in such a procedure are enough to discourage any but the hardiest and wealthiest of families. It has already resulted in slowing down desegregation to a snail's pace.

NEGROES ON JURIES: In another civil liberties case, the Court upheld a Circuit Court decision voiding the murder conviction of a Mississippi Negro defendant on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury which convicted him. Juries in Mississippi are drawn from lists of registered voters. In Carroll County, where the defendant, Robert Lee Goldsby, was tried, not a single Negro is registered to vote. Negroes make up more than half the county population.

Perhaps the year's classic in double-talk was given by Mississippi Atty. Gen. Joe T. Patterson in arguing for a reversal of the lower court. He said: "If all members of any race voluntarily refrain from seeking to become qualified for jury service over the years, as in the instant case, we know of no legal means by which they can be required to become so qualified, and we are sure that this court would not suggest that Negroes be coerced against their will to become qualified jurors."

The recent Civil Rights Commission report shows that in 14 Mississippi counties where there are 109,000 Negroes in a total population of 230,000, there are no Negro voters. The court decision in the Goldsby case was in line with the position it has maintained, with significan lapses, since the celebrated Scottsboro case: that systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury service deprives Negro defendants of the constitutional guarantee that the fate of accused persons be entrusted to their peers.

OTHER RULINGS: In other actions the Court: (1) refused to rescind a previous order for immediate integration in Prince Edward County, Va., where public schools have been abandoned in order to avoid compliance; (2) refused to review the contempt conviction of John Kasper, resulting from his activities in the 1956 school dispute at Clinton, Tenn.; (3) denied review of an earlier decision holding Orion Sherwood in contempt for attempting to sail on the **Golden Rule** into the restricted 390,000 - square - mile nuclear test zone in 1958; (4) agreed to review a Georgia Supreme Court decision which outlawed the closed shop where dues money is used for political purposes, and (5) agreed to hear the case of John Noto, former Buffalo, N.Y., Communist party leader who was convicted under the membership clause of the Smith Act.



Stockett, Afro-American

One more barrier that must come down

WHY THE WALTER-McCARRAN ACT MUST BE REPEALED—III

Needed: A law to restore the meaning of citizenship

By Frank Bellamy
(Last of three articles)

> *Give me your tired, your poor,*
> *Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,*
> *The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,*
> *Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me.*
> *I lift my lamp beside the golden door.*
>
> —Inscription on the base of the Statue of Liberty

THERE'S AN OLD SAYING that fear of foreigners began in America when the second boat load of colonists arrived.

That fear is reflected today in an immigration law that is so "rigid, restrictive and reactionary," according to the New York **Times**, that it "has probably done as much harm abroad to American prestige and fundamental American interests as any other single piece of legislation in recent years."

That "rigid, restrictive and reactionary" law is the Walter-McCarran Act which, the **Times** might have added, has as malodorous a record in kicking out non-citizens as in keeping them from coming in.

CLOSING THE DOOR: Passed in 1952 over President Truman's veto, the Walter-McCarran Law has withstood all attempts to repeal it and stands today as one of the most irrational, self-defeating stains on the nation's statute books.

Although mistrust of foreigners was prevalent throughout the colonial era and became the creed of the Know-Nothings in the middle 1800's, it was not until 1882 that the Federal government took official action to restrict immigration. The Oriental Exclusion Acts, first directed in that year against the Chinese, later barred all Asians. Other legislation set up personal qualifications for immigrants in relation to character, health and probability of self-support. Nevertheless, a general "open door" policy remained in effect until after the First World War.

Then in 1924 a rigid system of country-by-country quotas was imposed to shut the door to all but an annual maximum of 154,657 persons. Each country's quota was based on one-sixth of 1% of its representation in the U.S. census of 1920.

DISCRIMINATORY: This gave—and froze into perpetuity—great advantage to Great Britain, Germany and other western European nations. It discriminated against Italians, Greeks, Russians and others from eastern and southern Europe, and particularly against Jews.

The Walter-McCarran Act of 1952 retains the national origins quota system, although it does make nearly all countries, Asian as well as European, eligible for at least the minimum quota of 100 immigrants a year.

That was one of the few commendable provisions in the 1952 law—the establishment of a token annual immigration quota of 100 for Japan, Korea, Burma and other Asian countries that previously had been excluded entirely.

But how great a step forward was it? Monaco and Liechtenstein can send as many immigrants to the U.S. as can China and India, although those European city-states have only one-27,500th the population of China and India.

WORSE THAN 1924: All things considered, the Walter-McCarran Law is more discriminatory than the 1924 legislation. For instance, Jamaica, which could send 2,000 immigrants before the Walter-McCarran Law, now has a quota of 100.

Prospective immigrants are still required to answer questions relative to race and blood. Question No. 11 on the "Application for Registration as an Intended Immigrant" runs: "What is your race? If mixed blood, list percentage of blood of each race."

SPANISH LOYALISTS AND JEWISH REFUGEES NEED NOT APPLY
But Hungarian "freedom fighters," like those above tearing up a peace poster in San Francisco, get special laws and treatment.

Perhaps the most damning criticism of the national origins quota system is that it does not work. Some countries never use all of their quotas, whereas the quotas of other countries are mortgaged way into the future. Although two-thirds of Great Britain's quota goes unused each year, these numbers cannot be allocated to anyone else, and they simply lapse. Greeks, Lithuanians and Latvians, on the other hand, have waiting lists decades long.

SELF-DAMAGING: President Eisenhower and a small bloc of Congressmen have advocated legislation to pool the unused quotas and make them available to preferred immigrants from other European countries. This is merely a makeshift reform, however, inasmuch as it would not expand the number of persons permitted to immigrate and would not help non-Europeans at all.

Aside from being unfair to the immigrants involved, the Walter-McCarran Act runs counter to the best interests of the U.S. Clarence E. Pickett, a member of the 1952 President's Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, pointed out:

"There are those who maintain that the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924 was the first shot fired at Pearl Harbor: this is to say, it played directly into the hands of the anti-American militarists in Japan and was one of the reasons why they gained the upper hand in their own country. The final step in that drama was the attack on the American Navy at Pearl Harbor. It would be unfair to say there were no other causes, but this is certainly one of them."

The damage the Walter-McCarran Law has done to American prestige abroad may never be remedied. It is conceivable that the U.S. will suffer more, in the final analysis, than those she excludes.

SPECIAL LICENSE: The national origins quota system has worked so badly, especially since the Second World War, that Congress has frequently licensed special classes of people to enter the U.S. above and beyond the quotas set. G.I. brides, "Free" Poles, Basque shepherds, orphans under 14, displaced Germans, exiles from East Europe, 32,000 Hungarians—all these people owe their presence in the U.S. to special acts of Congress circumventing the Walter-McCarran Law.

Chief beneficiaries of this type of legislation in recent years have been "refugees from communism." Congress has been particularly kind to them, much kinder than it has, for instance, been to Jews driven from Egypt after the Suez invasion or the 175,000 Algerian refugees living in mud huts in Tunisia and Morocco.

While the Immigration and Naturalization Service has largely overlooked the former Nazis and Nazi sympathizers among the "refugees from communism," it has been anything but casual about refugees from reaction in such places as Spain, South Africa and Taiwan.

SCREENING PROCESS: Persons suspected of a progressive thought or activity in their background are carefully screened. Any potential immigrant can be barred under section 212 of the amended Walter-McCarran Law if "the consular officer or the Attorney General knows or has **reasonable ground to believe probably would,** after entry, engage in activities . . . subversive to the national security . . . or join, affiliate with, or participate in the activities of any organization which is registered or required to be registered under section 7 of the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950." (Emphasis added).

A total of 255 immigrants were sent back from U.S. points of entry last year on the ground that they were "subversive or anarchistic." Hundreds more failed to get visas from the American consular officers in their own countries. And still others were discouraged from applying for visas.

Thousands of private bills to benefit individual immigrants have been introduced in Congress to get around the arbitrary and static restrictions imposed by the Walter-McCarran Act. These bills constituted one-fifth of all legislation introduced in the 85th Congress. There were 4,364 of them in all, affecting 5,282 persons. Of the private immigration bills that became law, roughly two-fifths permitted individuals to enter the U.S., and the remainder granted permanent residence to aliens facing deportation.

CELLER BILL: Although these and similar measures may serve a humanitarian purpose in the short run, they are no adequate substitute for a rational immigration policy. They are no substitute for the repeal of the national origins quota system.

Recognition of this has led a small bloc of more liberal members of Congress to introduce bills to wipe out the national origins quota system. Sen. Herbert Lehman led this fight until he retired. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N.Y.) has taken it over since.

The Celler Bill establishes an annual quota of 250,000 immigrants. It does not specify how many immigrants can come from any one country. It does provide, however, that no more than 15% of the immigrants allowed to enter in a given year shall come from any one country.

Although the Celler Bill and others like it have won wide popular support, they have consistently failed of passage. The chief reason is that those defending the Walter-McCarran Law are far more powerful in Congress than in the country generally.

VETO POWER: The committee system in the House gives Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) a virtual veto over any immigration bill he doesn't like. This comes by virtue of his position as chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Naturalization. And Walter appears permanently unwilling to sanction any basic revision in the law of which he and the late Sen. Pat McCarran (D-Nev.) were the chief architects.

It was evident for months that the recent session of Congress would not see the enactment of any of the numerous bills proposing basic amendments to the Walter-McCarran Act. This is despite the continuing national sentiment for basic changes in the law, and recent court decisions striking down some of the more flagrantly undemocratic provisions of the law.

Any new and really democratic immigration and naturalization law would have to incorporate these general provisions, according to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born:

- No person shall be denied entry to the U.S. because of his race, religion, political beliefs or place of birth.
- Any non-citizen who has lived in the U.S. five years or more shall not be threatened with deportation for any reason whatsoever.
- No naturalized citizen shall, after five years of residence, be denaturalized for any reason whatsoever.
- All non-citizens shall have the protection of the Bill of Rights, especially the right to bail and the freedom of belief and association.
- The Immigration and Naturalization Service, now infected with an FBI attitude toward the foreign born, shall be removed from the Justice Dept. and set up as an independent agency under experienced and humane civilian administration.

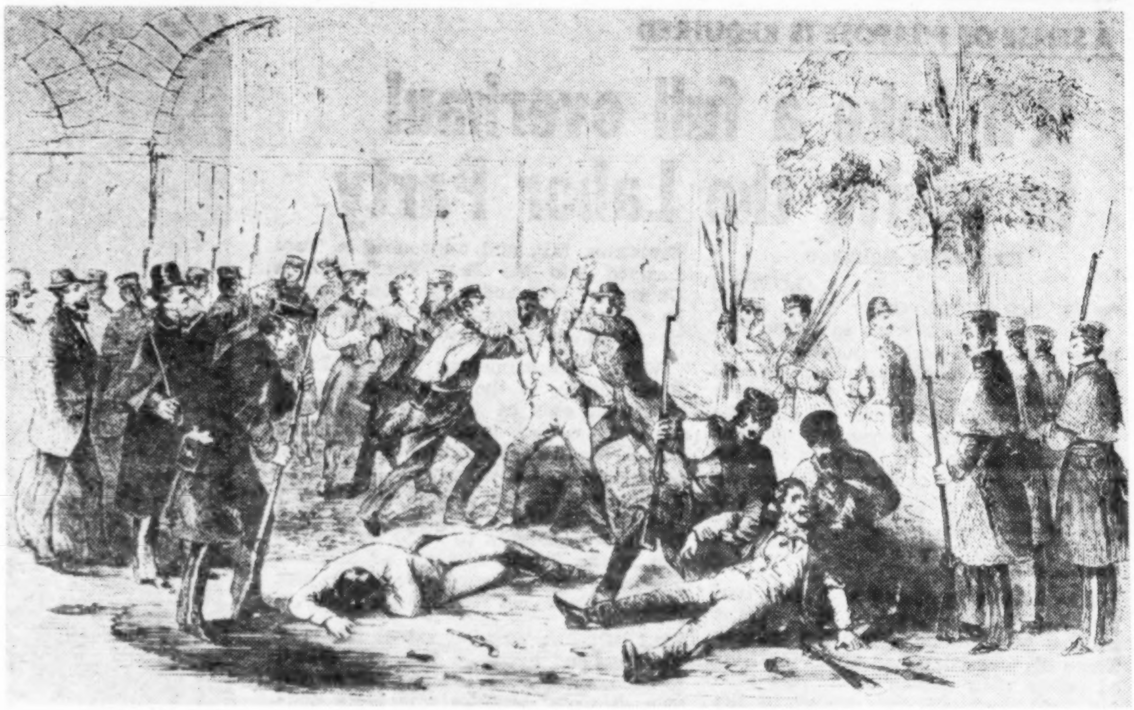
REMOVE THE BLOT: The Walter-McCarran Law will remain a threat as long as it remains on the statute books. As Sen. Lehman said, "Minor repairs would be a farce. Such a result would set us back rather than move us forward."

What is needed is nothing less than the repeal of this blot on traditional American fair play, and its replacement by a law that restores the meaning and dignity of American citizenship.

TRUMAN NELSON

John Brown--the man who is still there

Following are excerpts of an address to the John Brown Convocation at the University of Minnesota by Truman Nelson on Oct. 16, the one hundredth anniversary of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. Mr. Nelson, a modern Abolitionist of Salem, Mass., is a novelist and critic who is presently completing a novel based on John Brown's life. He will be a guest speaker at the GUARDIAN Eleventh Anniversary dinner in New York on Wednesday, November 18.



From Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, Nov. 5, 1859

TROOPS BRING THE PRISONERS FROM THE HARPER'S FERRY ENGINE HOUSE

It was there that Brown and his surviving men had taken refuge

IN THE NEXT five years, bulldozers of scholarship and pseudo-scholarship are going to heap on the great public scenes of the Civil War, masses of words "til our ground," to quote Hamlet, "singeing his pate against the burning zone, makes Ossa like a wart." And in this most profitable compost pile, there will be few or no elements of doubt that both sides were separately but equally righteous in their Cause. The slave and the abolitionist will be left out or dismissed in caustic or condescending parenthesis. . . .

Lee and Jefferson Davis, along with Lincoln and U.S. Grant, will be all-American Americans, laboring under a constitutional misunderstanding. The whole titanic drama of millions of black people kidnaped from their home-place and brought to the land of the free to be used as beasts of burden; the burden of guilt they laid then on our hearts; the slaughter that comes out of this and nothing but this; their subsequent days of being liberated, deluded, despised and then thrust back into slavery, will hardly be touched on. For all their agony and toil, no one will be presented the bill—no one will be found individually guilty or scarcely rebuked.

The one man in whom this age is embodied—whose personality towers over the announced heroes of his time, as the great mountain called Whiteface towers over the rock within whose shadow his bones still lie—will be treated as if he were not there, in the hope that some day he will go away and not plague us as he does with the still unresolved and accursed question for which he died.

AT THIS COMMEMORATIVE hour, a hundred years past, he set out on the road to Harper's Ferry with 18 men, Negro and white. What were his precise objectives, we do not know. He was good at keeping secrets and he had a lot to keep. Although we have a rough knowledge of the ensuing facts as they succeeded each other in time, several things happened which would have disrupted the most carefully laid plans and made them as illogical as John Brown's seems to generations of arm-chair commandos. Let us say, as we can say of all military leaders from Napoleon down, that he had a lot of luck for a while and then he lost it. . . .

It seems almost superfluous to tell of what happened: Of his loss of control over the event and his own forces; of the killing of his two sons, one under a flag of truce; of his being pinned down in one small building from which he heroically whithstood, for 36 sleepless and foodless hours, the armed might of the State of Virginia until, in what seemed to be the bitter end, Federal troops under Robert E. Lee crashed through his last stand.

The leader of the assault group tried, apparently under orders, to make an end of John Brown, lunging at him with a light sword which wounded him slightly in the kidney but whose lethal thrust was deflected in some way which bent it so that Lieutenant Green had to use it as a club, showering blows on the fallen old man's head until onlookers felt sure he had broken into the skull. Covered with blood and filthy with powder stains, he was laid on a cot to be badgered, unto his dying breath, by nearly a dozen hostile inquisitors: a Senator, a Governor, two Congressmen and a District Attorney—all shortly to become Confederates or copperheads—along with Lee and Jeb Stuart, whose disastrously shifting loyalties should be the eternal shame of the United States Army. . . .

THE VENOM they were trying to slip into his blood and kill him revived him like plasma. Finally Governor Wise, exhausted by the ordeal of defending himself against this wounded lion, said: "The silver of your hair is reddened by the blood of crime and it is meet that you should eschew these hard allusions and think upon eternity."

All in all, John Brown had given such a thundering "No" while on the edge of darkness, the question comes, verily, was he not the greatest of all Existentialists? Let us compare him to Pascal who, we are told, was the original of this new and conquering breed of Prophets. When Pascal was forced to think on the nexus put to Old Brown by Governor Wise, he said this: "When I consider the short duration of my life, swallowed up in the eternity before and after, the little space which I fill, and even can see, engulfed in the infinite immensity of space of which I am ignorant, and which knows me not, I am frightened, and am astonished being here rather than there; why now, rather than then."

Pascal, like the rest of us, eventually scared himself to death in bed. But the man who felt the hangman's knot already at his throat answered in words so strangely-like that I have felt compelled to make this rather far-fetched comparison—and yet worlds apart. "Governor, I have, from all appearances, not more than fifteen or twenty years the start of you in the journey to that eternity of which you kindly warn me; and whether my tenure here shall be fifteen months or fifteen days, or fifteen hours, I am equally prepared to go. There is an eternity behind and an eternity before and the little speck in the center, however long, is but comparatively a minute. The difference between your tenure and mine is trifling and I want therefore, to tell **you** to be prepared: I **am** prepared. You slaveholders have a heavy responsibility and it behooves you to prepare more than it does me."

Whatever Brown was, he was not another Pascal; he had that extra dimension the Existentialists have forsworn; the eternally reverberating "Yes" of perfect faith in man's transcendent fate. . . .

THE OLD MAN WAS CARRIED back and forth to the courtroom on a stretcher, still wounded, with his poor beaten head too clamorous with pain to hear what was being said about him. He was forced to fight off friends on one side trying to save him by calling him insane and thus negating the whole purpose of his life; and rescuers on the other, who would thus destroy his opportunity to bridge with his death that morass of misunderstanding between himself and the black man into which he had floundered with the incomprehensible shooting of the Negro Haywood in the first hours of the Raid.

His enemies revived his old sin of commanding the execution of five men in Kansas without a trial, an act which, abstracted from the revolutionary situation which made it a cruel necessity, could not be considered anything but the most heinous of crimes. One day he was brought unexpectedly into the courtroom whilst the jury was considering another verdict, abruptly sentenced to death and asked if he had anything to say. This was his greatest moment, when, naked to his enemies, he got off his stretcher and, without a trace of disquiet or uncertainty, wrung from his brain the irreducible essences of his life.

He began with his reaffirmation of having no consciousness of guilt, saying he denied everything but that he had come to free slaves . . .

The volcanic thrust of the speech came in two great strains, one an appeal to and excoriation of the Christian conscience of a nation which still professes its existence under God. "This Court acknowledges too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even unto them. It teaches me further, to remember them in bonds as bound with them. I have endeavored to act up to that instruction."

THE OTHER CONTAINED the finest expression of revolutionary morality ever given by any man, anywhere. "Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved—for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case—had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, sister, brother, wife or children, or any of that class and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did no wrong but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done."

After this speech, the din of execration and disclaimer stilled for a moment and John Brown stood revealed in his own light as if by a lightning flash. His personality, his mind and his continuity in time was understood. I quote from the New York **Tribune** of Dec. 10, 1859:

"Brown was descended from a brave revolutionary stock. He held that doctrines of the Declaration of Independence were the property of the slaves of Virginia of our day as really as of their masters in 1776; that the equality of birth, the inalienable right to liberty, the duty of governments to protect this right, and, failing to do so, the duty of the oppressed to overthrow such governments which that Declaration proclaims were principles applicable to all ranks and conditions of men. Brown held, therefore, that every slave in Virginia had as perfect a right to walk out of the state as Henry A. Wise; that every so-called law which prevented him thus doing was invalid in its inception and oppressive in its operation and was no law but sheer piracy; that if the slaves, through ignorance or timidity refrained from exercising their inalienable rights, it was his duty to enlighten them and assist them and that any law which forbade his doing so was to be treated as an invasion of his own rights and set at defiance." . . .

HERE IS A CALM judgment of his exact contemporaries, stated in an hour when it could do more harm than good. We are amazed to find it exactly opposite from what we are taught was the universal, popular verdict; that he was a muddling but well meaning fanatic with absolutely no intellectual content whatsoever. This contrary finding, in my eyes, stands as final in respect to his impact on the best men of his day.

But what of now? What is there left to set the seal on his prophecy and place the crown on his apostleship? For me, John Brown's usable truth lives in this; that he reaffirmed and tried to regenerate for a tainted and confused nation the source of that revolutionary energy with which we transformed a moribund world nearly three centuries ago, and could again, a new and exalting unit of loyalty. A man can commit treason only against his unit of loyalty, which is his country, or his class, his firm, his church, his family or his race. John Brown claimed the unit of loyalty should be man himself and in a trial of a thousand years, he

(Continued on Page 6)

A SENSE OF PURPOSE IS REQUIRED

It'll take a full overhaul to revive the Labor Party

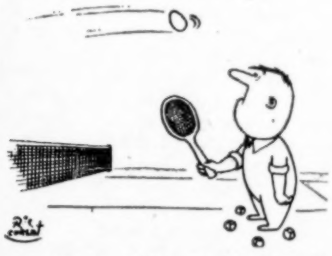
By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

THE POLITICAL Crazy Week which followed the knockout to Labor is a measure of both parties' surprise at the election results. First Macmillan was able to announce that "the class war is over"; then Moscow radio seemed to bless the swing to the Tories by commenting that the British elector had "cast his vote for peace and peaceful coexistence"; then we had Gaitskell insisting as he recovered consciousness—like the girl with the illegitimate baby—that the defeat was "just a little one."

Tory papers competed with and surpassed the Labor press in extravagant tributes to Gaitskell. For the **Sunday Times** his leadership had been "confirmed rather than shaken": he "very skilfully hid nationalization away" in the campaign and it wasn't his fault that the party remained suspect of socialist intentions.

To a similar editorial accolade the **Evening Standard** added the testimony of a "left-winger"—**New Statesman** contributor Paul Johnson—that Gaitskell "emerged as a national figure." Johnson assured the **Standard's** Tory readers that "nationalization will have to go": Labor should "abandon socialism" both as a name and "as a system of public ownership" and join forces with the Liberals under the name of "Radicals." ("Radical" in Britain is the old word for Liberal and has no socialist connotation.)



PANIC FLIGHT: The middle-road **Observer,** which had recommended its readers to vote Labor, observed that the party had "long ceased to believe in complete socialism" and its only hope lay in "officially adopting Mr. Gaitskell's sensible remark that Labor wants to make capitalism work better and more fairly . . ." **The Daily Mirror,** which had gone all-out for Labor, seemed to have decided that the way to maintain mass circulation was to take a political powder. Sitting out the whole discussion, it took the "Forward With The People" line off its front page, fired its political columnist, R. H. S. Crossman, MP, and announced a "race forward into the New Year" with a Christmas Cake and a "Do you Want to be a Model?" contest and "big news for weight watchers of both sexes."

What was happening in top Labor Party circles as the inquest got under way could only be described as a panic flight from socialism. (Two years ago Gaitskell and all the others were beating their breasts as they vied before the party conference to appear as the best "socialists".) The emerging program for the future appeared to be to put socialism in the British Museum or Madame Tussaud's waxworks, or perhaps to give it a royal burial in Westminster Abbey.

THE BOGEY: To what extent the "nationalization" bogey in fact contributed to Labor's disaster it is impossible to say. Shrewd party workers who were continuously active through the campaign tell me that it played a negligible role; but no one suggests that nationalization is popular, and there is little reason why it should be.

Britain's decrepit and inefficient railways are the major point at which the citizenry—millions of whom think what they had under Labor governments was socialism—are aware of nationalization; but few remember that the industry was bankrupt when taken over. Nobody proposes de-nationalization now: the former shareholders are receiving a guaranteed "compensation" dividend, and at the same time the railways' woeful condition makes them appear as a perpetual argument **against** socialism.

Labor rank-and-filers were pressing for a party conference where all could join in the inquest and thrash out the question of "more or less socialism." The annual conference (to which 400 resolutions had been submitted by local parties and unions, 120 of them calling for unilateral nuclear disarmament) was set for election week and canceled. If the hierarchy has its way, any "conference" that is held will be confined to leaders' addresses, election of officers and a financial report.

TWO PARTY SYSTEM: The collapse of Britain's "socialist" party, just when socialism is scoring its most sensational successes across one-third of the globe, seemed to be in the general pattern of the orthodox Social Democratic movement. Steadily declining in Germany, Italy and Australia and a shambles in France, Social Democracy as it moved to the Right has retained power only in Norway, Israel and Sweden and on an in-and-out basis in New Zealand; elsewhere it has been swallowed up in right-wing coalitions.

TIPPING PROHIBITED
POLLING STATION
WAY IN

THE BOBBY AS BABY-SITTER
As mother voted in England

A few days after the election here, it was being suggested in the press that the American system of two classless and virtually indistinguishable parties, competing for power on the basis of "anything you can do I can do better," was the one for Britain to emulate.

Socialists in the Labor Party were hoping a party split could be avoided but more convinced than ever that their line was correct. They felt that the "slick" Labor campaign of right-wing policies with left-wing slogans had merely confused the voters and strengthened natural fears of change, at a time of limited prosperity, to something undefined and unknown.

A WAY OF LIFE: Nothing much was made of the "Suez" and colonial issues, and some saw in the Tory swing a confused but dangerous resurgence of the imperialistic spirit among the masses as currently observable in France. The "Summit" was not seen as having been a major factor—people felt there was going to be one anyway—but insofar as it was, Macmillan on the record had the edge as Britain's representative.

Above all, most left-wingers agreed with the **Sunday Pictorial**'s free-wheeling columnist Malcolm Muggeridge that "a party of the Left has by its very nature to embody a dream, to provide a sense of purpose"; but there was "no dream" in Labor's spokesmen "recommending a pension scheme as though it were a detergent." Left Labor MP Harold Davies, who won an increased majority in a predominantly farm area, told the GUARDIAN:

"Socialism is a way of life, but what we've been getting is an Americanization of British politics, with big business and generals throwing their weight behind the Establishment and faceless men in our party just playing 'ins and outs'. Africa and the underdeveloped areas, which were brushed aside by the electorate, are still there—and selfishness is alien to the people of this country when they are brought to understand.

"The task still remains, as before, to mobilize the people behind the great purposes of peace and international cooperation, and to explain the need for planning our great industries, which does not necessarily mean the state running them."

OVERHAUL NEEDED: Davies and his Left colleagues are convinced that "we'll come out of this cleansed and stronger." The tradition of the British Labor movement suggests that this is not empty optimism, but nothing less than a complete overhaul of the party will make it possible.

The re-creation in the British people of a sense of purpose, in line with the world realities of our era, will be long and painful. The present Labor leadership has neither the intention nor the capacity of undertaking it; and the sooner they take off into whatever Liberal limbo they find suited to their political temperament, the sooner the job will get started.

Supreme Court to review Kimm deportation case

THE SUPREME COURT on Oct. 14 agreed to review the Diamond Kimm case and will hear arguments in March or April next year.

The appeal is from a decision by the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit on Feb. 19, 1959, under which Kimm faces deportation to South Korea. Kimm, an avowed enemy of Syngman Rhee, was editor of **Korean Independence,** which opposed the policies of the Rhee government.

Rose Chernin, exec. dir. of the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, said: "We are very gratified that Diamond Kimm's case has been certified by the Supreme Court. The legal fees and the cost of printing the briefs and records are very high, but it is unthinkable to do less, for Diamond Kimm's deportation to South Korea may mean his death."

Proceeds of the 9th annual Testimonial Dinner on Oct. 24 will go toward defraying the legal expense in the Diamond Kimm case. Reservations are still available at the Committee office, 326 W. 3rd St., Room 318, Los Angeles 13, Calif. Telephones: MAdison 5-2169 and MAdison 5-2160.

John Brown's story

(Continued from Page 5)

could never be imbued with a sense of guilt for saying, Let my people go . . .

The crime of the White South springs from their racist unit of loyalty, which to my mind, places them beyond redemption until they take an honest look at their society and its discontents. . . . When they talk about States Rights, they mean white rights and nothing but that. . . .

THERE HAS NEVER been a time when the white South did not put race before every other form of loyalty. There was very little talk about States Rights whenever they were able to compromise Congress and the Supreme Court into bringing the power of the Federal government against the Negro and not for him. Is it State's Rights that tell a man he cannot send his children to those common schools to which they are entitled by the law of the land of their birth—because he is colored? What is the political system that prevents colored men and women from voting for the agents that represent them in the government, and form policies to which these disenfranchised people are supposed to give their unquestioning loyalty and when called upon, their heart's blood? The John Brown that is in me, and there is a little John Brown in all of us, tells me that this is white rights; that it is another form of slavery and that it will never be anything else until all the people of the South can vote and go to the common schools of their choice.

You people out there—are you going to give the consent of your silence to the blandness, the de-principalizing that the hucksters of history are going to pour out like cough syrup for the next five years? Can't you get up a little resistance movement—at least a committee of correspondence to try to slip back a few of the astringent values which are going to be drained out of the living body of our heritage until it is bled white?

I have already enlisted for the whole war. It will not be altogether a labor of love. I hate the white southern racists and all their works. I hate them for clapping me into a prison of my white skin as inescapable as that of my darker neighbors. What they do to others in the South makes me want to secede from the white race—and what the white-skinned racist does in the North is just as abhorrent.... I hate them because they have blocked out of the culture of my time the full expression of the wisdom of a people to whom the meaning of life has had to be privation, suffering and alienation but who have lived with quiet confidence, and by far more than we have, with infectuous and inexplicable joy. I hate the white South because they have made me ashamed of my own country, which not only presents to a vibrant world grappling with the problems we ignore the complacent surface of a sluttish society whose mass ideal is unlimited consumption of all possible goods and services, but has lost all of its revolutionary virtues in an hour when the darker people of the world are finally climbing into the light and are forced to seek elsewhere the encouragement which our revolutionary fathers meant for us to bestow on mankind. . . .

THIS MAY SEEM irritatingly wide of the mark until we consider that the latest demand of the Constitution upon the white South has been answered by them with the integration of 74 children in five years—a rate of acquiescen in which it would take nearly 80,000 years for the 2,500,000 Negro children to receive what has always been one of their inalienable rights. Something tells me that even this progress will soon be obliterated by the tides of bogus sentimentalism engulfing us with the tributes paid the South for its "honor, integrity and heroism" in what I ask God to forgive me for calling "The War Between the States."

On a platform at Gettysburg, someone said once that this war, now to be re-examined, was fought for the liberation of all the people, by all the people of this country. Let us proclaim this and celebrate it so; otherwise, the judgment of the next hundred years will be that John Brown and the men who sang his song on the bloody line at Gettysburg really did die in vain.

Holiday Shopping Guide

A Statement From GBS

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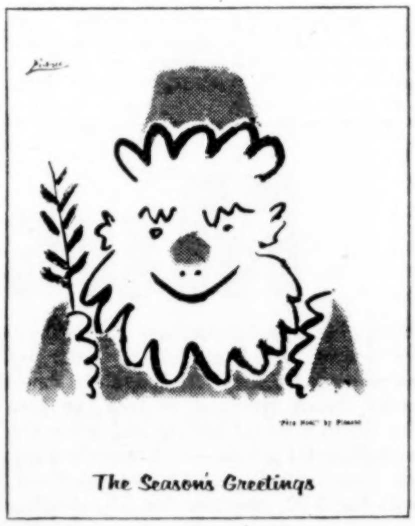
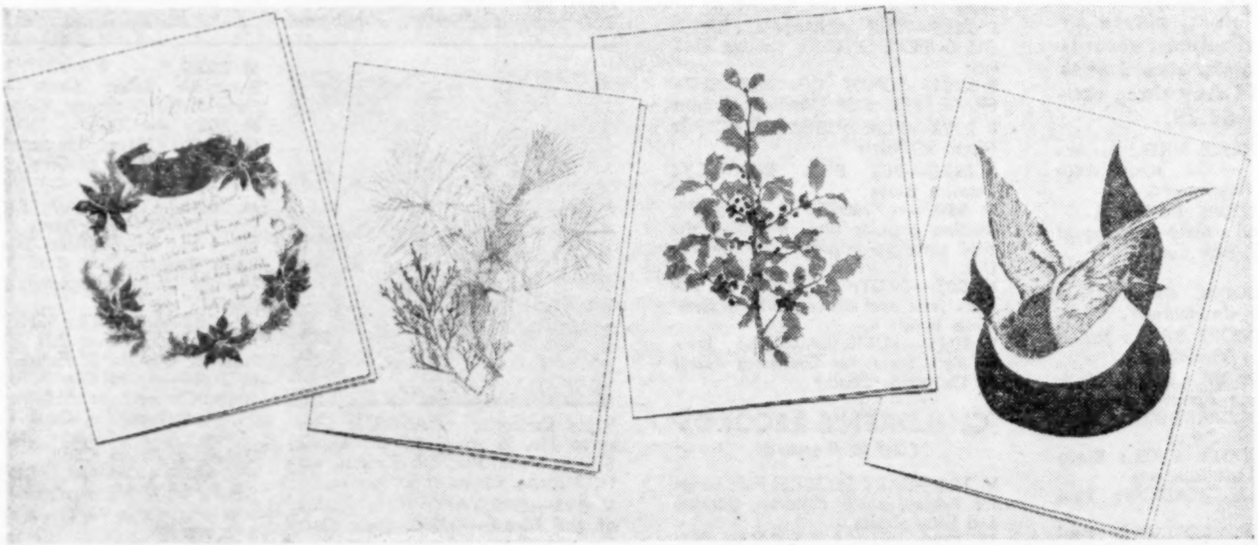
GBS GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

HOLIDAY CARDS - THREE OUTSTANDING SETS!

FOR THE FIRST TIME in its 11-year history Guardian Buying Service offers **THREE** exquisite sets of greeting cards to please every taste! Two "economy sets"—the "Holly" cards by a leading magazine illustrator and the Guardian Angel set by the Guardian's own Art Director, Bob Joyce—are reproduced on thin paper with a French fold (a sheet of paper folded in half, then folded in half again) and packed twelve to a box. The charming Picasso "Pere Noel", is printed on beautiful heavy card stock, 5"x7", and packed eight to a box. You can't go wrong on any of these lovely cards. All are shipped complete with matching envelopes, in a cardboard carton.

PICASSO'S "PERE NOEL"—Through special arrangements with Picasso and the French Peace Committee the Guardian has obtained exclusive rights in America to reproduce this charming drawing as a Christmas card. Picasso is at his witty best in this delightful rendition of Father Christmas holding an evergreen sprig. Reproduced in three process colors, on heavy cardboard stock 5"x7", these high quality cards are appropriate for **any** friends, and are absolutely exclusive with the Guardian. Eight to a box with matching envelopes. Each set $1.50; 2 sets $2.75; 3 sets $4; 4 sets $5. Bulk prices: 50 cards $7; 100 cards $12.



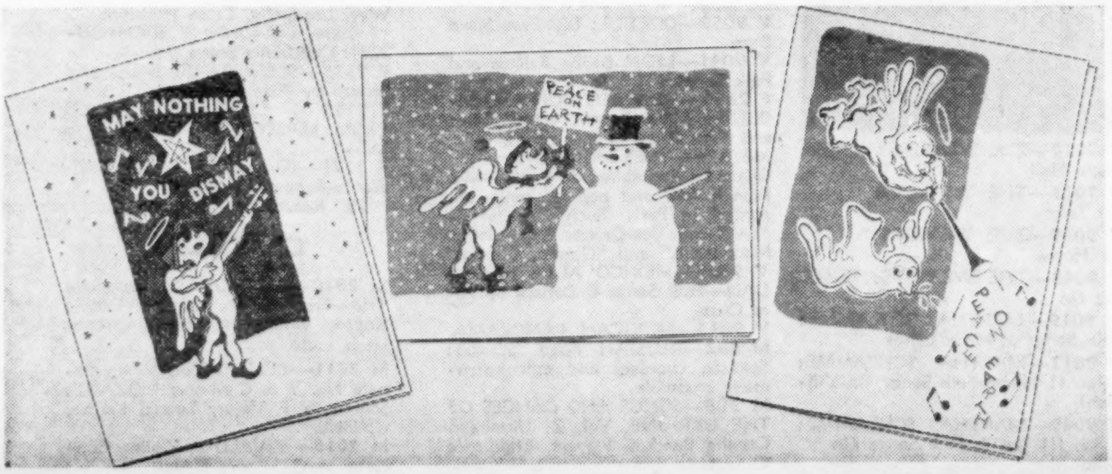


(Left)

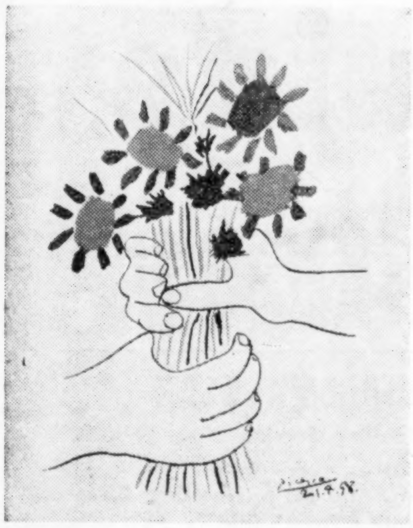
"HOLLY" SET—A series of four lovely drawings, packed 12 to a set, by one of the country's leading magazine illustrators. Printed in four colors on thin paper, French-fold, with "Season's Greetings" printed inside. You must see these fine drawings in color to appreciate them. The **Wassail Bowl** (far left) provides a wonderful, little-known recipe for holiday cheer. Single set of 12 cards $1. 2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets $3.25; 5 sets for $4.

(Right)

GUARDIAN ANGEL SET—Three charming cards, packed four each to a set, of one of your favorite characters—our Guardian Angel! Reproduced in four colors on thin stock with "Season's Greetings" inside, packed with 12 envelopes and shipped in a sturdy cardboard box. Here's an absolutely delightful set of Christmas cards for your friends and relatives. Each set of 12 cards $1. 2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets $3.25; 5 sets for $4.



Art



LE BOUQUET *(Above)*—Picasso's lovely, symbolic representation of peace and friendship, beautifully reproduced in seven bright, warm colors. 25½" high, 19¼" wide, **Le Bouquet** is printed on heavy stock, ideal for framing. A beautiful gift for friends or your own family. **Just $3.50!**

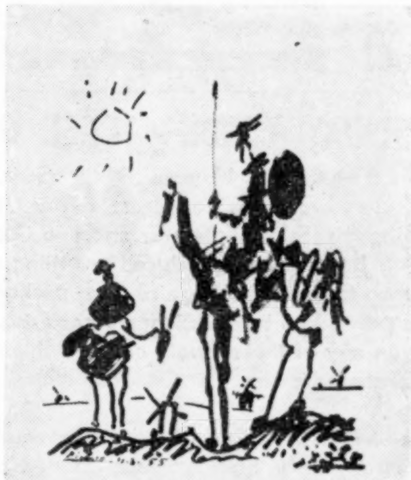
DON QUICHOTTE *(Right)*—Who but Picasso could depict the Spanish knight, his trusty aide and Rosinante so charmingly? 22"x14¾", in black, on heavy Don Blas stock. **Just $3.**

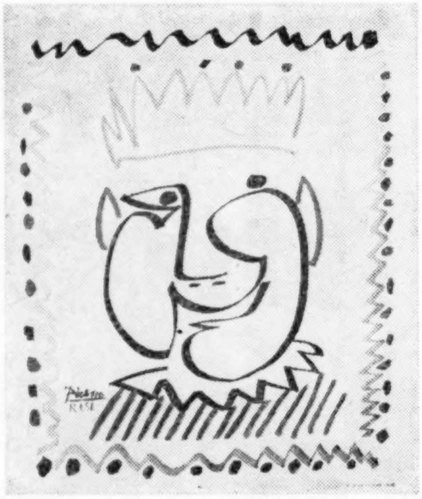
PICASSO—By special arrangement with the French Committee de la Paix, these four charming Picasso prints are available to GBS customers for the first time! Wonderful Christmas or all-year-round gifts, these gay and witty multi-colored drawings will delight your friends and family. Each is printed on fine paper stock, ready for framing. All prints are shipped in durable cardboard tubes.

Combination Prices:

Both $3 prints	$ 5.50
Both $3.50 prints	$ 6.50
One $3, one $3.50	$ 6.00
All four prints	$10.00

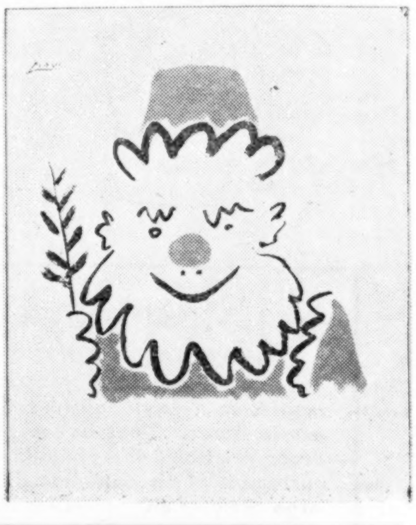
ALL PRINTS ARE SHIPPED IN A TOUGH MAILING TUBE AND ARE GUARANTEED TO ARRIVE IN PERFECT CONDITION.





CARNAVAL *(Above)*—A striking carnival figure done in four bright colors—bold red, yellow, blue and black. Delightful for children's rooms, **Carnaval** is 21½" x 17½", on light stock. Gay and festive, it will warm any home. **Guardian Buying Service price, only $3.50.**

"PERE-NOEL" *(Below)* Father Christmas, that is! A merry Yuletide character in orange, black and brown. This jovial fellow is also offered as a Guardian Christmas card *(See preceding page)*. On beautiful heavy stock, 21½"x15". **Just $3.**



Books

Children's Books

AGE 2 TO 6

ANIMAL BABIES, By Kathie Smart—A delightful "accordion type" picture book that unfolds a whole barnyard of die-cut animals, mounted on sturdy board. 8½"x11". Animals unfold to 70". .... **$1.**

LET'S GO TO SCHOOL, By Rickie Schnur—A companion volume to Animal Babies (above), with unfolding, die-cut pictures of children at work and play. Opens to 70" in length. .... **$1.**

AGE 8 TO 13

THE STORY OF PLANETS, SPACE and STARS, By Gaylord Johnson—An authoritative guidebook for young astronomers explaining the orbits of planets, how to tell time by the stars, why we have winter and summer, etc. Cloth Reinforced, 7½"x10¼" **$2.95**

Young Adults

INVITATION TO MUSIC, By Elie Siegmeister—The book on music for young adults. Explains what music is made of, from folk song to symphony, and how to build a good record library. Index and discography. 7½"x10¼". Cloth reinforced. A superb gift **$4.95**

PICTURE GUIDE TO BEGINNER'S CHESS, By Al Horowitz—How to play chess, shown step by step with more than 300 photographs and diagrams. 200 pages, 6¼"x9¼", clothbound. **$2.95**

Music

With this special Holiday GBS Shopping guide, we present the latest, most complete, most up-to-date record listing we've ever printed! Includes old favorites and new favorites-to-be, from classical to folk, to jazz and blues, played by the world's finest artists and orchestras on the finest recordings. Special prices—unbeatable bargains—make record gifts for your friends—and to yourself—a MUST! Any three records for $10, any two for $7, single albums $3.75.

FOLK SONGS

F 2321—PETE SEEGER: American Folk Ballads

F 2412—PETE SEEGER: Pete Seeger and Sonny Terry

F 2452—PETE SEEGER: With Voices Together We Sing

F 2453—PETE SEEGER: Love Songs For Friends and Foes

F 3544—GUY CARAWAN: Songs With Guy Carawan

PAUL ROBESON
AT CARNEGIE HALL

V 9010—THE WEAVERS: At Carnegie Hall

V 9013—THE WEAVERS: On Tour

V 9024—THE WEAVERS: At Home

V 9043—THE WEAVERS: Traveling On

V 9019—MARTHA SCHLAMME: Folk Songs of Many Lands

V 9011—MARTHA SCHLAMME: (Vol. I) Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish)

V 9049—MARTHA SCHLAMME: (Vol. II) Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish)

E 105—THEODORE BIKEL: An Actor's Holiday — 22 songs from France, Italy, Russia, etc.

E 109—THEODORE BIKEL: A Young Man and a Maid—love songs of many lands, with Cynthia Gooding.

E 132—THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs of Israel (in Hebrew).

E 141—THEODORE BIKEL: Jewish Folk Songs (in Yiddish).

E 161—THEODORE BIKEL: Folk Songs From Just About Everywhere

E 165—THEODORE BIKEL: Sings More Jewish Folk Songs

E 175—THEODORE BIKEL: Bravo Bikel (Town Hall Concert)

V 9037—PAUL ROBESON: Paul Robeson Sings

V 9051—PAUL ROBESON: Paul Robeson at Carnegie Hall

M 580—PAUL ROBESON: Favorite Songs

V 9059—ODETTA: My Eyes Have Seen

V 9041—LEON BIBB: Ballads and Folk Songs

F 2396—NEW LOST CITY RAMBLERS: Mike Seeger, John Cohen and Tom Paley in folk songs.

MF 324—YVES MONTAND: Chansons Populaires de France—12 French folk and popular songs recorded in Paris. Such favorites as "Le Temps des Cerises," "Le Soldat Mecontent," and "Girofle, Girofla."

V 9009—MEXICO ALTA FIDELIDAD—Folk Songs & Dances of Vera Cruz

V 9014—MEXICAN PANORAMA

M 302—RUSSIAN FOLK SONGS: Soloists, choruses and folk instrument ensemble.

M 308—SONGS AND DANCES OF THE UKRAINE, Vol. 2: Ukrainian Capella Bandura Players, Children's Chorus

MF 325 — POLISH SONGS AND DANCES: Polish State Folk Ballet "Slask," Piatnitsky Chorus and Orchestra

M 520—SOVIET ARMY CHORUS AND BAND: A New Program of Favorites (Alexandrov, Cond.)

TOPICAL, POPULAR SPIRITUALS

F 2501—PETE SEEGER: The Gazette

F 5285—THE ALMANAC SINGERS & PETE SEEGER: Talking Union

F 5281—SONGS OF THE SUFFRAGETTES with Elizabeth Knight

F 2372—FISK JUBILEE SINGERS: Negro Spirituals

F 2326—BIG BILL BROONZY: Country Blues

M 590 — "MOSCOW NIGHTS": Russian popular hits, including the title song so popular now in the U.S.

M 505—BROTHER JOHN SELLERS: Jazz and Blues (with a five-piece band)

V 9045—TUMBALALAIKA: Jewish Folk Songs for Orchestra (Emil de Cameron, Cond.)

CHILDREN'S RECORDS

(Up to 6 years)

V 100—BABY SITTERS: Folk songs for babies, small children, parents and baby sitters

***F 7020**—SONGS TO GROW ON: American folk songs with Pete Seeger, Charity Bailey, Adelaide Van Way, Leadbelly, Cisco Houston.

***F 7036** — JOHNNY RICHARDSON: Children's Songs

F 7525—SLEEP TIME: Songs and Stories by Pete Seeger

F 7750 — CHRISTMAS SONGS FROM MANY LANDS, with Alan Mills

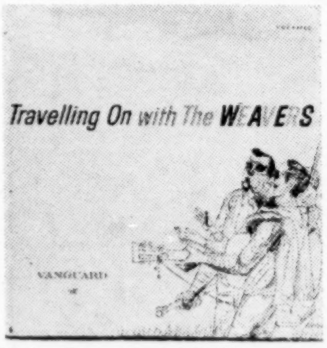
F 7771—ED McCURDY in Children's Songs and Stories

* **10" Record**

CLASSICAL

M 2010—BEETHOVEN: Archduke Trio—Emil Gilels, piano; Leonid Kogan, violin; Mstislav Rostropovitch, cello.

M 2011—BEETHOVEN: Violin Sonata No. 7 in C Minor; MOZART: Sonata in F Major; Leonid Kogan, violinist.



M 2018—VIVALDI: Violin Concerto in G Minor; HANDOSHKIN: Viola Concerto; RAMEAU: Concerto No. 6 in G Minor. Leonid Kogan, violin, Rudolph Barshai, viola, Moscow Chamber Orchestra.

V 422—SHOSTAKOVICH: Songs of the Forest — USSR State Opera Co., Mravinsky, Cond.

V 451 — PROKOFIEV: Alexander Nevsky Cantata — Vienna State Opera Co., Rossi, Cond.

M 2025 — KHACHATURIAN: Spartacus Ballet Music — USSR State Radio Orchestra, Gauk, Cond.

M 2029 — ZARA DOLUKHANOVA: (Mezzo-Soprano) Arias and light classics in Greek, Armenian and Russian.

M 2004—VLADISLAV RICHTER: RACHMANINOFF Piano Concerto No. 1 in F Sharp Minor; Saint-Saens Piano Concerto No. 5 in F Major. Moscow Youth Symphony, Kondrashin, Cond.

M 2002—RICHTER: SCHUMANN, Humoresque, Opus 20; FRANCK, Prelude, Chorale & Fugue.

M 2026—RICHTER: SCHUMANN Piano Concerto in A Minor, Opus 54; Fantasiestucke, Opus 12 (Nos. 1-2-3-5-7-8), Moscow State Radio Orchestra, Gauk, Cond.

M 2027—RICHTER: SCHUBERT Sonata in A Minor, Opus 42; Impromptus, Opus 90, No. 2 and Opus 142, No. 2.

M 2034—RICHTER: TSCHAIKOVSKY Sonata in G Major, Opus 37; PROKOFIEV Sonata No. 9 in C Major, Opus 103.

Connoisseur's Corner

The following records are imported from France. The recording quality is high the artists are suberb, and the price is a little steep. But we offer them to those who want unusual and superior gifts which are not widely available.

DTX 171-5 — CHOPIN INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL, WARSAW, 1955: An extraordinary album featuring the winners of the Chopin Festival. Five records in a handsome album and program. Recorded by Pathe and imported from France. Expensive, but worth it to Chopin lovers. A magnificent Christmas gift—$29.75.

DTX 206—Les Noces De Figaro, Mozart. Complete opera in French, with beautiful, complete libretto (in French). Recorded by Pathe at Mozart Festival D'Aix-En-Provence, in 1955. Superb! 3 12" LP's, in lovely box. $17.85

DTX 218—Don Giovanni, Mozart. Complete opera in French with French libretto. Recorded by Pathé at Festival D'Aix-En-Provence, 1956. 4 12" LP's in handsome box. $23.80

DTX 233—Valses De Vienne, Johann Strauss pere et fils. The Strauss operetta, recorded by soloists and chorus of Raymond St. Paul, under the direction of Jules Gressier. Released by Pathé. 1 12" LP. $5.95

DTX 229—The Land of Smiles, by Franz Lehar. Abridged version. Artists and chorus of R. St. Paul under Marcel Cariven. 1 12" LP. $5.95

DTX 252—Concerto No. 5 in F. Major, Saint Saens, and Septet in E Flat Major. The National Orchestra of the French Radio Network, under Louis Fourestier, featuring Jeanne-Marie Darre. Pathé. 1 12" LP. $5.95

New

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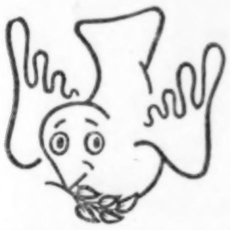
New This Year!

GUARDIAN Peace Dove Jewelry!



Sterling Silver

A unique and charming series of gifts—the hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove, cast into a stunning line of earrings, tie-tacks, cuff links, a pendant and a pin! This lovely jewelry is made to the Guardian's own design, handcrafted for us by a noted New York silversmith. Each pin is in oxydized sterling silver with sturdy clasps, and satin (burnished) finish. The ideal gift for men and women.

For The Ladies

A—EARRINGS — Exquisite! Drop-type, with 5/8" square, convex sterling silver, with the little peace dove in an incised outline. Screw-back ear clip with silver tips.
Only $4.95

B — PENDANT — Lovely 7/8" square, convex-shaped sterling silver pendant on a fine oxydized silver chain. The peace dove is incised in the silver. A wonderful gift!
Just $4.50

C—DRESS PIN—1-3/8" x 1-1/4" silhouetted peace dove, in sterling silver with extra-heavy clasp. (Shown same size in drawing). All peace dove jewelry is satin finished.
Just $4.95

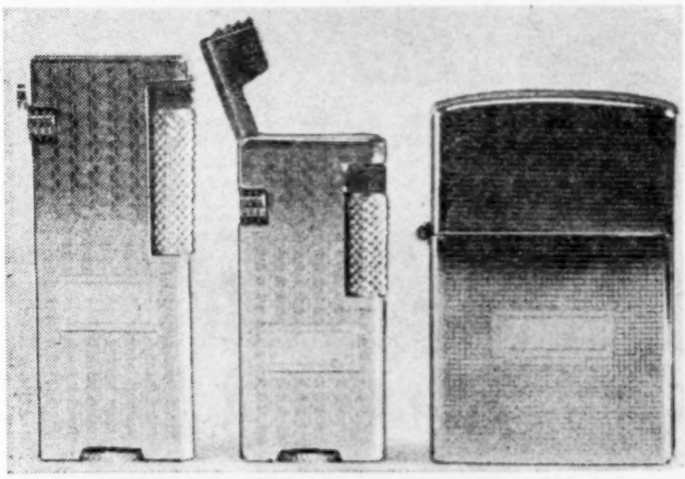
For The Men

D—CUFF LINKS—Stunning 5/8" square blocks of sterling silver, in convex shape, with peace dove incised as in pendant. Extra firm, snap type clasp. A wonderful holiday gift.
$5.95

E—TIE TACK—A tiny (1/2" square) silhouetted dove in oxydized sterling silver with a firm clasp.
Only $3.50

Cigarette Lighters!

Three outstanding values to "light up" your Holidays! The two lighters below, *(left and center)* are the fine "side-wheel" type, beautifully made. A knurled wheel at top controls flint pressure. Flint may be changed and lighter filled without a screw driver. Extra cartridge is concealed inside refill cap. Men's size *(Left)* in engine-turned gold or silver finish, boxed, $2.25. Women's *(Center)* $2. *"His and Hers"* Set $3.95! "Windproof" type *(Right)* in beautiful engine-turned case with permanent fibreglass wick, $1.25. Actual size.

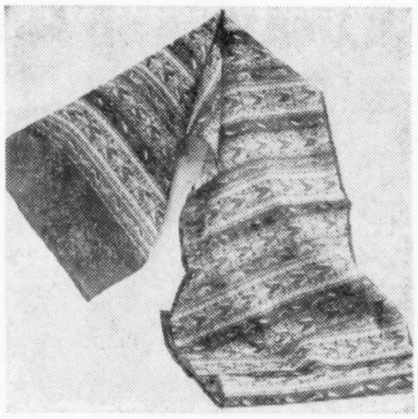


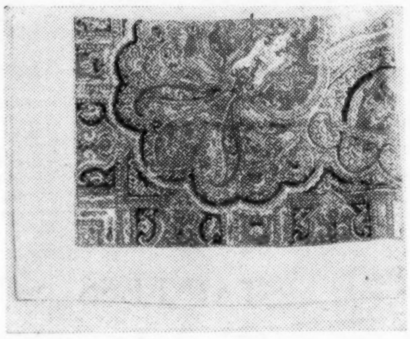
For The Ladies In Your Life!

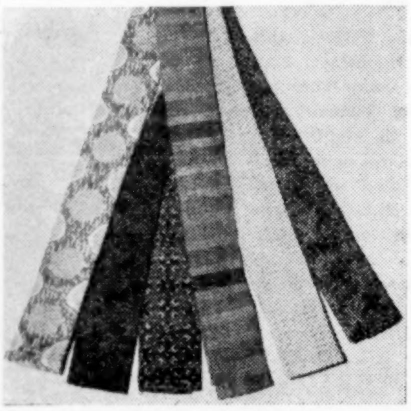
(Above) FROM YUGOSLAVIA—Charming hand-woven CAPS (medium head size) suitable for all females young in heart—from 10 to the "over 21" group. Reversible—one side raised hand-woven multi-color stripes, other side solid color felt with wool hand embroidery. Solid colors in red, black, green. Priced at $2.50 (NOTE: In ordering please be sure to give first and second choice in color.)

(Upper right) Finely-woven 100% wool ascot scarf in paisley on white background to slip underneath coat or jacket for extra warmth and style. Each scarf is 10-½" x 48" long. JUST $2

(Right) Imported from Japan, these lovely paisley print, 100% fine wool squares add the finishing touch to any woman's winter outfit. Perfect as headscarf or neck warmer. Multi-color paisley design on white background, 32" square. GBS Price $3







FOR YOUR FAVORITE GENT! A grab bag of six assorted narrow-styled Ivy League ties, fully interlined and silk-tipped! Unusual, outstanding designs in domestic and imported fabrics. Both summer and winter weights. Each tie was made to retail from $2.50 to $3.50—but for GBS customers, via a friendly manufacturer, six for $5! No returns! We choose 'em and you'll like 'em! Good for presents, too.

An exciting new toy for young engineers!

A FASCINATING new build-it-yourself kit for mechanically inclined children—an electric machine shop and factory! Factory Superintendent's Manual (instruction book) explains how to hook up the operating conveyor belts, engine lathe, drill punch, power saw, etc. Two control switches operate off two "D" size flashlight batteries (not supplied) 18 x 23" x 1-3/4". $8.95

JIM PRENTICE
ELECTRIC
MACHINE SHOP AND FACTORY

Guardian Vitamins

Guardian Vitamins

All brands of vitamins are manufactured to strict government regulations and are exactly alike. The only difference is the price—and that's where GBS shines. We bring you ten major types of vitamins for up to 50% less than you'd pay elsewhere.

THERAPEUTIC VITAMINS WITH MINERALS (for people on restricted diets). 100 capsules	$4.95
MULTIPLE VITAMINS (small, easy-to-swallow capsules). 100 capsules	$1.75
HIGH POTENCY MULTIPLE VITAMINS FORMULA (for general vitamin deficiency). 100 capsules	$3.25
HIGH POTENCY THERAPEUTIC FORMULA (for the run-down and convalescents). 100 capsules	$3.00
VITAMIN-MINERAL *(for general use)*. 100 caps.	$2.50
PEDIATRIC DROPS (for infants and children). 60 cc bottle	$2.25
HEMATINIC ANTI-ANEMIA FORMULA (high in iron, liver and B-12). 100 capsules	$4.00
GERIATRIC FORMULA (for 35-year olds and up). 100 capsules	$3.50
STRESS FORMULA (for undue stress or strain caused by worry or fatigue). 100 capsules	$5.50
VITAMIN-MINERAL CANDITABS (Choice of chocolate, cherry, or both flavors mixed). 100 tablets	$2.25

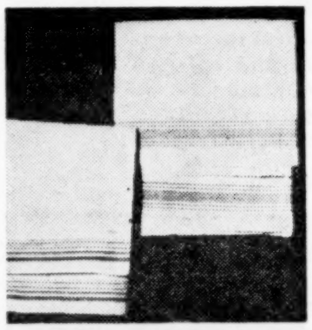
(Right) The KOLIBRI, an 11-pound jewel, perfect for students and travelers! Two type faces—elite and pica; four colors: gray, green, ruby and beige. Beautiful leatherette carrying case. Impeccable, light-weight. Only $59.95, plus $3. F.E.T. — Write for literature.

TYPEWRITERS

Our wonderful OPTIMA and KOLIBRI typewriters from East Germany have been winning hosannahs from GBS buyers throughout the country! These are sturdy, beautifully made portables which come with 5-year guarantees. In a variety of colors, and both type faces—elite and pica — these imported typewriters are the best you can buy at ANY price. Our price: OPTIMA—$75, Kolibri—$59.95, plus Federal excise tax. Special leatherette case on the Kolibri, $3 extra. All machines come expertly packaged in cartons, fully insured.

THE OPTIMA (Right)—Simply a magnificent standard portable! Superb workmanship, all modern features, plus many not found on American machines. American 88-character keyboard. Comes in blue, green, gray and gold and two type faces, elite and pica. Just $75, plus $3.30 F.E.T. Write for literature.

NEW YORKERS! We also have the finest office machines, head and shoulders above American models! Because shipping charges are prohibitive, we can offer them only if you pick them up. Yours for an unbelievable $149.50, plus $4.50 Federal excise tax.—Come to the Guardian office and try it out!



LOVELY LINENS FROM POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA!

Here are the popular table linens we've been selling for years. Guardian readers have purchased hundreds of these exquisite sets. The quality is exceptional, the workmanship superb, and the price is right.

Pure, heavy linen with open-work corner designs. Available in white, pink, gold and aqua.

54 x 54,	6 napkins	$ 5.50
52 x 70,	6 napkins	$ 6.50
66 x 86,	8 napkins	$ 8.25
66 x 106,	12 napkins	$11.50

Czech Table Linens

Exquisite pure linen damask tablecloths, with a satiny smooth white-on-white design, and open work corner embroidery:

No. 1—54"x70"	(hemstitched) with 6 napkins	$ 8.50
No. 2.—60"x90"	(hemstitched) with 8 napkins	$10.50
No. 3—60"x85"	(plain hem) with 8 napkins	$ 9.00
No. 4—60"x108"	(plain hem) with 12 napkins	$12.00
No. 5—60"x120"	(plain hem) with 12 napkins	$14.00

Tablecloths (plain hem) without napkins

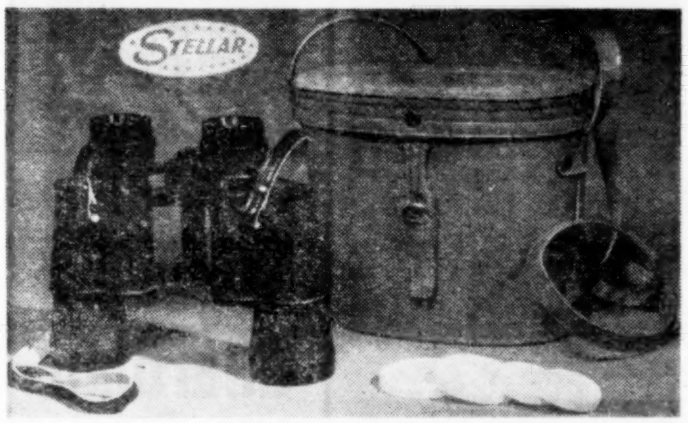
No. 6—60"x60"	$ 4.00
No. 7—60"x72"	$ 5.25
No. 8—60"x85"	$ 6.00
No. 9—60"x108"	$ 7.50
No. 10—60"x120"	$ 8.50
No. 11—60"x142"	$10.00

Polish Dish Towels

Pure linen Polish dish towels, 16"x30", white with striped cotton border of blue, green, red or yellow. Specify color when ordering.

6 for $3.25
1 dozen for $6.25

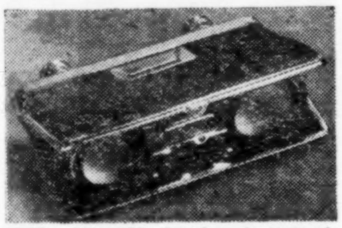
IMPORTED BINOCULARS AND MICROSCOPES!



B47-7x35 (Illustrated above). Here's a fine pair of binoculars for all-round use. 35mm lenses and strong 7x magnification. Coated and baked lenses, lightweight, with leather strap, carrying case, and protective plastic lens caps. Fully guaranteed. A wonderful buy at $22.95

B42-7x50—Powerful naval binoculars, clear and brilliant, for all-round use where distance is important. For hunting, sports, hiking. All the features of the B47 binoculars above $27.75

HERE are wonderful gifts for budding scientists, or any member of the family—imported precision binoculars or microscopes! Take our word for it, these are, within their price range, quality instruments that will not disappoint you. They are absolutely guaranteed by the importer against defects in workmanship, and complete repair facilities are maintained in the U.S.

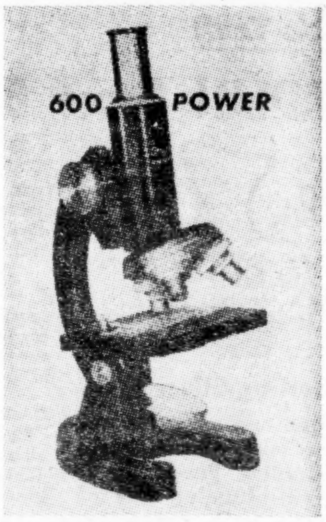


OPERA GLASSES—An elegant, compact, folding opera and sports glass, just the thing for the theater and special events! 2.5 magnification, cigarette case size, fits in your purse or pocket. Leather covered. 4-¼" x 2-½" x ¾" thin. Only $2.50

HERE'S an unusual gift for a youngster with a scientific bent—a genuine, high quality microscope! Imported from Japan, these are precision-built instruments with high grade optical features for students or even semi-professional work. All are guaranteed.

B65-100X-500X-300X with three revolving turrets. Tilts to 45 degrees, black lacquer finish, expert adjustment parts. Comes in wooden box with slides in holder. Not a toy! A buy at $5.95

B75 100X-500X WITH DISSECTING KIT — A wonderful gift for budding biologists! A powerful microscope with 10x eye piece and four objectives—10x, 20x, 30x and 50x. (Multiply eye piece power by objective power to get magnification). Six dissecting instruments—probe, tweezers, scalpel, spatula, scissors and magnifying glass in wooden box. A bargain at $9.95



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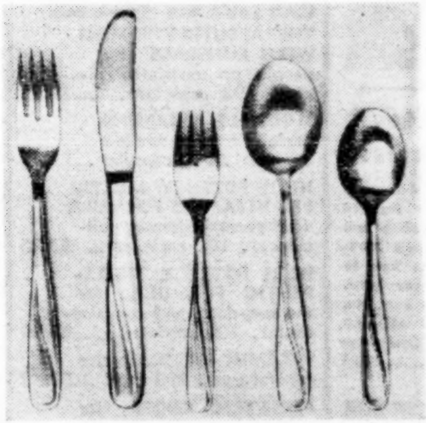

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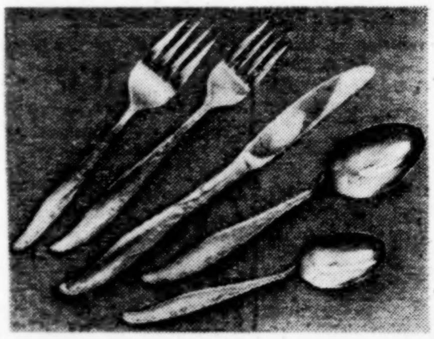

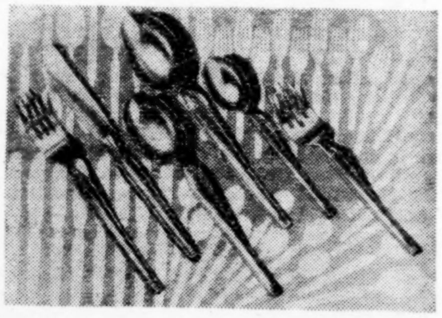

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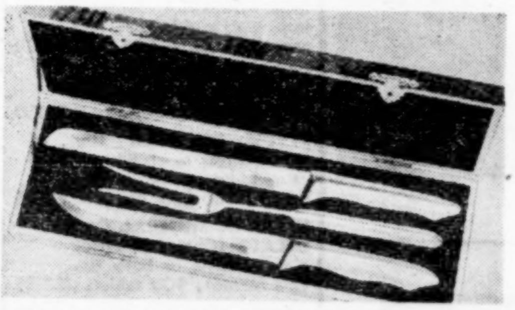

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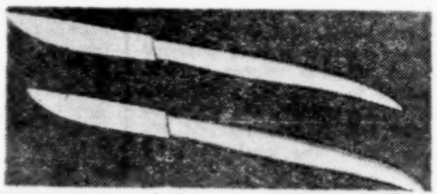

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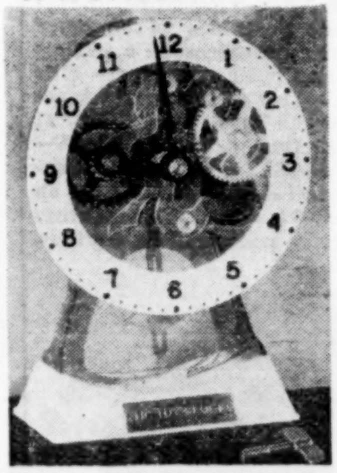

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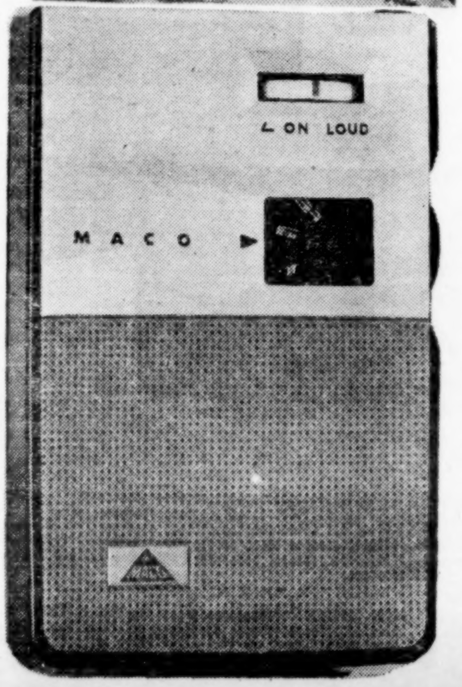


THE UAR'S 'OFFENSIVE OF THE SMILE'

Cairo woos markets with 'new look' in foreign policy

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO

RECENT VISITS HERE of statesmen and delegations from Africa, Asia and Latin America, and the readjustment of Cairo's relations with Arab countries, now more clearly define the "new look" in the United Arab Republic's foreign policy.

Chief factor behind Cairo's intense efforts to cement relations with the underdeveloped countries (Burma, Ethiopia, Somali, Cuba, etc.) is its need to find markets for U.A.R. industrial goods, especially textiles. With its first five-year plan now nearing completion (in a claimed two years instead of five) and industrial production increasing, industry is now suffering from "overproduction." Large stocks of textiles and other goods remain unsold despite recent widespread price cuts, and despite the doubling of textile exports this year.

These unsold "surpluses"—along with business uncertainty in the face of continually multiplying government regulations—have kept the stock market depressed and stagnant since last January. This is at a time when the rate of industrial expansion is accelerating.

HAMMARSKJOLD'S ROLE: The economic problem is also a factor behind the revision of the U.A.R.'s Arab policy. This might be defined as an effort to return to normal relations with established governments, now recognized as legitimate, after a series of setbacks to the policy of appealing to the people to overthrow these governments. The decisive failure of the earlier policy came in Iraq. And it is only Iraq which has been wholly excluded from Cairo's current "offensive of the smile."

An influential role in restoring diplomatic relations with Jordan, largely on King Hussein's terms, was played by UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold. This was related to the perspectives opened to Cairo by the Hammarskjold plan for unified economic development of the Arab world, a plan which had American backing. The U.A.R. reluctantly rejected it because it was tied to the explosive question of the Palestine refugees.

If Cairo has, by and large, abandoned its earlier plans to achieve Arab unity (except in Iraq), it remains committed to "inter-Arab economic cooperation." This is considered essential in terms of (1) Arab markets for Egyptian industrial goods and (2) joint development of Arab resources under Egyptian leadership and technical know-how. Egypt's role is envisaged as that of an industrial supplier to a region which will remain largely agricultural.

U.S. INSPIRATION: Cairo sees this leadership goal as threatened chiefly by Iraq and requiring closer economic relations with the West. Since Washington's aim, like Cairo's, is to keep "communism" out of the Arab world, a certain identity of interest exists.

President Nasser's reconciliation with King Saud was encouraged (and perhaps inspired) by the U.S. At their Cairo meeting the two Arab leaders were preoccupied by "the communist menace in Iraq." American-backed efforts to achieve a similar reconciliation between Nasser and Tunisian President Bourguiba failed. The U.A.R. met one of Bourguiba's demands (cancellation of anti-Tunisian resolutions adopted by the Arab League at Cairo's instigation) but not the other (ouster from the U.A.R. of Tunisian opposition leader Salah Ben Yussef, under death sentence by Bourguiba's regime). Bourguiba, in turn, perhaps believing Nasser's prestige is on the wane, has been unwilling to make concessions.

Thus, although the "policy of the smile" may have partially succeeded, differences remain—even on Iraq. For if Hussein and Saud support the U.A.R.'s Iraq policy, neither Lebanon nor Tunis do.

THE SECOND PLAN: Cairo's efforts to effect closer economic relations with the West, especially Western participation in its second five-year plan, may be more successful. The second plan, according to government spokesmen, will rely mainly not on "foreign agreements" (foreign credits and loans supplied for the first plan almost equally by West and East) but on private investment which, of course, can come only from the West. A number of steps have recently been taken to encourage such investment—among them Economics Minister Kaissouni's talks with leading U.S. officials, financiers and businessmen, and preparations for the visit here of a top-level U.S. economic mission next January.

For all his eagerness to secure Western investment, however, Nasser insists he will not sacrifice national interests to obtain it. This was demonstrated in the negotiations with the World Bank for a loan to improve the Suez Canal (the U.A.R. has rejected all pressures to open the canal to Israeli ships) and in the refusal to bow to West German threats to break diplomatic relations over the U.A.R. decision to establish consular relations with East Germany.

A TEAM OF FIELD HANDS SPRAY AN EGYPTIAN COTTON FIELD
Cairo seeks outlets for an "overproduction" of textiles

THE REASONS: Cairo said its extensive trade and economic relations with East Germany required such representation and, further, it could not overlook East German support for Egypt during the Suez aggression. Its stand was influenced by these facts:

- Growing Arab resentment over West German collaboration with the French in Algeria and in the projected French A-bomb test in the Sahara. Several speakers at a recent Afro-Asian meeting here protesting this test accused West Germany of complicity in it.
- Arab bitterness over West German military collaboration with Israel.
- West Germany's one-sided trade policy toward the U.A.R., especially its failure to fulfill commitments to buy cotton. This caused new deficits in the U.A.R. commercial balances.

IT PAID OFF: For a time, Cairo-Bonn relations were so strained that the scheduled September visit of Bonn's Economic Minister Erhard was called off. The firmness apparently paid off. Talks in Washington between Kaissouni and Erhard produced commitments for bigger West German purchases of U.A.R. goods, especially cotton; greater financing of U.A.R. industrial projects and an Erhard visit in December.

Bonn may argue that it has not departed from its policy of not dealing with governments that recognize East Germany, since Cairo has not actually established full diplomatic relations with East Germany. But Cairo's move appears to have opened the way to establish consular relations with other uncommitted countries. If not recognition, this is a long step toward it.

ASSEMBLY ENDORSES DE GAULLE POLICY

Point-of-no-return reached in France-Algeria issue

By Anne Bauer
Guardian staff correspondent

PARIS

THINGS SEEM to have reached a point-of-no-return in Algeria.

Premier Michel Debre on Oct. 16 won a National Assembly vote of approval for President de Gaulle's Algerian policy by 441 to 23. Afterwards, there were threats of forceful resistance by white Algerian deputies. Gaullist deputy Lucien Neuwirth warned that "commandos of killers" have entered France from Spain to attack "designated persons" in support of Algerian "ultras."

It is nevertheless true that the vote has strengthened de Gaulle's hand. But there is as yet no evidence of even behind-the-scenes talks between the President and the Provisional Algerian Government.

Time is rapidly running out and if peace does not come to Algeria within the next few months, the Algerian war is likely to go on for a long time. In the monarchical, pseudo-Republican France of today, de Gaulle holds in his own hands the issues of peace or war.

What are de Gaulle's real intentions for Algeria?

Last Sept. 16, in his statement to the Algerian rebels, he offered integration, autonomy in association with France, or secession (France retaining the mineral-rich areas) through an Algerian referendum within four years after peace. But he refused to recognize or negotiate with the Provisional Algerian government. Since then there has been endless speculation about the sense and meaning of certain passages in de Gaulle's statement.

MYSTERY MAN: In the critical spring of 1958, just before coming to power, de Gaulle astounded and exasperated political observers and defeated some of his opponents with his oracular statements. During the past year, he has remained just as inscrutable, demonstrating his oft-quoted principle that a chief must be surrounded by an aura of mystery.

It would be hairsplitting to try to decide whether, according to one passage in his statement, an Algerian vote for secession would lead Paris to adopt the "Palestine solution" and split Algeria in two; or, to judge by another passage, a self-determination to which "the French must subscribe" would simply cancel itself out.

Terms and conditions, however, can be negotiated; what matters today is the determination to end the Algerian war. To achieve this, de Gaulle now has an unusual number of assets on his side.

MET HALF-WAY: The Provisional Algerian government, in its Sept. 28 reply, met de Gaulle's offer of self-determination more than half-way. For the first time it renounced its claim to independence as an indispensable condition and substituted "conversation" for the explosive word "negotiation." It invited the French government to "discuss the political and military conditions of the cease-fire and the conditions and guarantees of the application of self-determination."

The French people are overwhelmingly in favor of peace. The "ultras" are outnumbered in the Assembly and divided and weakened in Algiers, where the Army is no longer willing to follow them as it did in May, 1958. Negotiations with the Provisional government could bring on trouble in Algiers and perhaps even in France, but no one believes that it would or could get out of hand.

There must be negotiations with the Provisional Algerian government—"the only political organization qualified to furnish an answer that would permit ending the war," according to Gaston Defferre, Mayor of Marseilles and influential left-wing Socialist leader. Deffere voted in favor of de Gaulle last year in a sudden switch. He now warns that refusal to negotiate with the Provisional government "under the pretext that we do not recognize it . . . amounts to closing the door to peace for years to come."

STILL TABOO: But recognition of and negotiations with the Provisional government remain—as in the past—the two taboos in de Gaulle's last statement.

Right-wing and center observers continue to argue whether to interpret the de Gaulle statement as a move (1) to impress the UN and the U.S.; (2) to divide the FLN (Algerian Natl. Liberation Force); or (3) to play up the French army in Algeria (de Gaulle's statement praised the army's role in Algeria's "pacification") and keep Algeria tied to France by another army-controlled "election." Meanwhile, authoritative voices were being raised in favor of negotiations.

Anti-Gaullist Francois Mitterand, friend of Pierre Mendes-France and a brilliant political observer and analyst, said: "There are two logical attitudes toward the FLN: either eliminate it brutally through 'pacification' or negotiate with it. De Gaulle has chosen the first attitude but acts as though he did not reject the second. He has not really adopted one or the other."

WORD AND DEED: The left-wing **Express** wrote: "If one wants to make peace, one says so. If one considers negotiations necessary, one declares it . . . One does not pretend to believe in 'pacification' in order to flatter the pacifiers. One does not pretend to refuse negotiations in order to put the last-ditch fighters to sleep." The result of all this, it added, will be "a deceived, impotent France."

It may be a coincidence that former Premier Mendes-France, ex-Socialist Minister Tanguy-Prigent and ten other former Socialist Assembly members have chosen this moment to leave their party and join the anti-Guy Mollet Autonomous Socialist Party. This is the first important regrouping of the anti-Gaullist left—outside the Communist Party—and it receives a hundred membership applications a day in Paris alone.

BOOKS

A general tells how to use herbs, spices

OF NATURE'S INGREDIENTS for better eating, the author of **Good Cooking with Herbs and Spices*** says in his introduction, "Herbs have been the quiet ones of history; spices the colorful and the adventurous." Thereafter—in what must prove a most fascinating book for any reader and a special treasure trove for the hard-working cook who wants to serve a gourmet dish every so often without tears—a U.S. Army General and a literary agent from Chicago who share a

culinary avocation combine their respective skills to give the history and uses of perhaps two dozen of the best known herbs and spices along with a bouquet of recipes involving each. The literary agent, Eleanor Langdon, is a Chicago **haute cuisine** exponent. The general, Frank Dorn, a West Pointer who retired in 1955 after a long career which found him based in Peking for a time, has also illustrated the book with excellent art work in the traditional style of Chinese painting.

We have no reason to suspect that the General's affinity for things Chinese goes beyond art and food, and in no case beyond October, 1949, (the birth of the New China). Hence we feel like an imp of the spice shelf for pulling out of context the book's interesting discussion of saffron, one of the earliest known herbs. Peoples throughout history have used its yellow-orange-gold dye properties for cloth, now best known throughout the world perhaps as the color worn by the Dalai Lama and many Tibetan monks. However, the General points out, a second distillation of yellow saffron dye produces "a wondrous soft vermilion color which today is usually called Tibetan red." This wondrous red, the General continues, is not so well known to the Western world. (Saffron is a "must" for paella Valenciana and bouillabaise Marseillaise and has even found a place for itself in sangria, a wine & fruit punch.)

You can't fail to have fun with **Good Cooking with Herbs and Spices,** even if you can't tell chervil from catnip.

—J.T.M.

**GOOD COOKING WITH HERBS & SPICES, by Gen. Frank Dorn and Eleanor Langdon. Harvey House, New York. 176 pp. $3.95. Available through Guardian Buying Service, see P. 8.*

SICILY REVISITED

Ex-GI goes back again

IT WOULD BE oversimplifying things to put the GI's of World War II in two categories: (1) those who hated all countries except Germany on the grounds that they were unclean and the Germans had flush bowls just like the ones back home; (2) those who were curious enough about the people of other lands to seek them out and come to love them —and to be loved in turn.

Oversimplifying yes, but there's a good deal of truth in the categories. In the latter falls Herbert Mitgang, a member of the Sunday staff of the New York **Times,** and an ex-GI who saw service in North Africa and Greece and was for a time managing editor of the Army's **Stars and Stripes** in Sicily.

Many of those in category II who write for a living went back, or wrote books picturing what it would be like if they did go back. So did Mitgang in a first novel entitled simply **The Return.***

His man went back in "the years after youth," for an American development company seeking a precious ore in the mountains of Sicily. But Joseph Borken was far more interested in Franca, the girl he had left behind, than in prospecting. He looked for both, however, and the twain met in this novel which is a spanking good piece of story-telling (with the economy of words that is the hallmark of good newspaper training).

FOR AN AWFUL LOT of veterans of the European Theater of Operations the book will be an evocative if romantic experience—and may evoke a few peculiar glances of an evening from burdened wives. But more than that—although it does not pretend to be a social document—it does present the mood and the poverty of Sicily; the land-hungry peasants and the landlords who keep looking back over their shoulders; and the new exploiters from the fat-and-free world, both the brainy ones and the mindless ones who never left home—except to find a house up a side street.

Best of all Borken is eminently believable. One understands his youthful leaving and the impelling reasons for his more mature return. And if you want to know how the dream came out, well, you better get the book yourself and read it. I won't tell you.

—J.A.

**THE RETURN, by Herbert Mitgang. Simon and Schuster, New York. 242 pp. 3.50.*

Photo by De Larrabeiti

DR. DU BOIS IN BRONZE

This striking bust of the great Negro scholar was made this year (without fee) by the noted British sculptor Lawrence Bradshaw to be presented as a gift to the People's Republic of China. The original bust was formally presented to the Chinese Embassy in London on China's National Day on Oct. 1; the bronze cast is now to be shipped to Peking.

The Strong pamphlet

WE NEGLECTED to mention, in reviewing two pamphlets on Tibet Oct. 12, that Anna Louise Strong's TIBET, **What Happened? What's Ahead?** appeared originally in **New World Review,** 34 W. 15 St., N.Y. 11, and was reprinted by **New World Review** with a special press run bearing the imprint of the **Far East Reporter,** P.O. Box 1536, N.Y. 17.

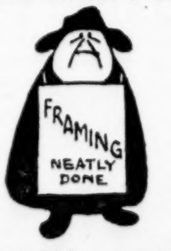
A NEW COMMENT

Rosenbergs and freedom

THE LATE Lord Jowitt, the former Chancellor of Great Britain, was so shocked by what went on at the Hiss trial that he was led to write a book reviewing the case . . .

At the Rosenberg-Sobell trial the ideological passions were even greater than those which prevailed at the Hiss trial. If by nothing else, this is clearly demonstrated by the conduct of the trial judge in meting out death sentences in time of peace to the two principals convicted of espionage, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, and by the conduct of the higher courts in declining to review the evidence or to mitigate the sentences. Aside from a few law review articles, the Rosenberg-Sobell trial has been reviewed in a couple of books by authors with manifestly pro-Communist sympathies, whose attacks on the trial may be discounted by lay readers as reflecting special pleading. But the active participation of the Nobel prize winner Harold C. Urey in a committee seeking a new trial for Morton Sobell (who was sentenced to 30 years instead of death and thus can benefit from a new trial) is clear evidence that we cannot dismiss the complaints of sharp practices at the atom spy trial as mere Communist propaganda . . .

In addition to the indications of sharp practices by the prosecution in the Hiss and Rosenberg-Sobell trials, to many minds there are grounds for suspicion that the government attorneys may have been guilty of suborning witnesses and fabricating evidence. This is a suspicion which non-Communists hesitate to put in words, since without a Congressional investigation (which is not likely to take place) the suspicion can neither be confirmed nor disproved, and the suspicion may in fact be without foundation. Nevertheless, in a book on the Hiss case, the experienced and disinterested newspaperman Fred J. Cook voices the theory that Hiss's conviction may have been brought about through a frame-up involving "forgery by typewriter." He then makes the point that if there was such forgery by typewriter, it could only have been done with the assistance of men high up in the government . . .



—Benjamin Ginzburg in **Rededication to Freedom,** published this year by Simon & Schuster. 117 pp. $3.50.

ADAM HARASIEWICZ

Winner of Chopin 1st prize

A DAZZLING ALBUM

For lovers of Chopin

THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL Chopin Competition at Warsaw in 1955 was a dazzling performance and Pathe Records of France has performed a great service to the musical world in offering a unique five-disc recording* of the event. The high quality which has made Pathe a by-word in the musical world is evident throughout. The recordings consist of works performed by the first five prize winners with no duplication of repertoire. It is sad that not a single waltz was played, but the freshness and enthusiasm of the performances more than make up for this.

Adam Harasiewicz of Poland, Vladimir Ashkenazy of the Soviet Union, Fu Tsung of China, Bernard Ringiessen of France and Naum Shtarkman and Dimitri Papierno of the Soviet Union, the first five prize winners respectively, cover a wide range of the music of Frederic Chopin, including many Mazurkas, Ballades, Nocturnes, Etudes, Preludes, Polonaises, and even such large works as the F Minor Fantasy and both Concerti.

THAT THE WINNERS are all masters of their instrument and fine musicians goes without saying, since they competed and won in a most difficult and demanding competition. One may differ with the selection of the prize winners, as I did, since the difference in each one's style may affect each listener differently.

For instance, Harasiewicz (1st Prize) is an extremely well-schooled pianist. His playing displays careful planning and equally careful execution. His tone is very lyrical, more so than any other pianist of the group, though he seems to lack a certain something—possibly spontaneity, particularly in the Mazurkas.

Ashkenazy (2nd Prize), who has been heard in the U.S., has a tremendous facility, a lyric quality and excellent rythmic feeling. Both Harasiewicz and Ashkenazy have an entire disc to themselves, as do Fu Tsung and Ringiessen. A last disc is divided between Papierno and Shtarkman.

FU TSUNG (3rd Prize), has a very facile technique but lacks the lyrical quality of Harasiewicz or Ashkenazy. Ringiessen (4th Prize), displays a very powerful technique and a spontaneity and vitality unequalled by any of the others, with the exception of Ashkenazy, though he lacks the control of Harasiewicz. Papierno's performance of the A minor Etude is difficult to describe—it must be heard. Shtarkman's performance of the B flat minor Scherzo easily compares with and in many cases surpasses many standard, accepted recordings.

It must indeed be difficult for an older pianist to bring a freshness and vitality to music which he has performed thirty, forty or more years. Since the artists of the Warsaw competition are all so young, they automatically have this fresh approach and warm feeling for their music.

All in all, the recordings and the artists are of such high quality, that they may well be a "must" for every aspiring pianist, especially Chopin lovers, or anyone who would like to round out his library with a comprehensive sampling of the works of Chopin.

—Nievas Pousada

**CHOPIN INTERNATIONAL FESTIVAL, WARSAW, 1955: Album of five 12" LP records of the playing of five prize-winning young pianists. Recorded by Pathè, France. Guardian Buying Service, $29.75.*

THERE'S A NEW GENERATION OF TOWN PLANNERS

The houses they'll live in in the U.S.S.R.

By Wilfred Burchett
Guardian staff correspondent

MOSCOW

THE DAUGHTER of a Russian friend has just graduated as a construction engineer with a thesis on town planning which illustrates some of the practical dreams of Soviet youth. Lena put into her planned town all those things she feels her generation has every right to expect.

In many respects the town she planned is a commentary on the shortcomings of Soviet life today. And it is not just an abstract sketch—it is a town that will be built in the next seven-year plan, on the exact site where she located it, one of a series of 65,000-population satellite cities which will ring Moscow. Which does not mean the real town will be built just as Lena planned it.

Three students took part in the joint thesis, with Lena responsible for housing, schools, clubs, etc. She successfully proved her point that 150 square feet per person is the minimum living space people are entitled to in the next plan. Present building provides for 80 square feet per person and aims to give every family its own apartment. Lena's plan goes further and gives every family member a separate room.

GARDEN CITY: Apart from a few 10- and 12-story blocks in the center of the city, most of the buildings are in two and three-story blocks, 18 apartments to a block. It will be a garden city, as the recent additions to Moscow tend to be.

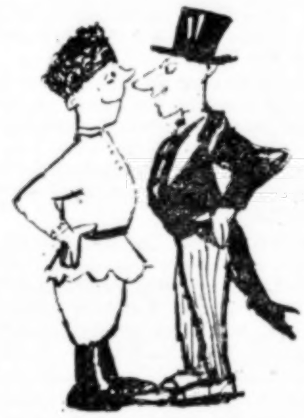
The Soviet automobile industry will have to make a great spurt forward in the next seven-year plan to fill the garages Lena has planned. She allots space on the basis of 200 cars for every thousand of the population, with four- and five-story garages, each within 300 yards radius of the apartments they serve.

Shops in Lena's future are not places where you buy things. They are spacious showrooms where, over a cup of coffee, you select the goods to be delivered to the door, be they groceries, clothes or whatever. There is to be a vast network of small restaurants which will also stock semi-prepared foods, delivered to the door and needing only heating. Dirty clothes slide down a laundry chute from each apartment to a central collection point whence they are whisked off and delivered back to the door.

OTHER INNOVATIONS: Lena has provided for social changes as well. Her clubs, for instance, are not attached, as at present, to various enterprises and organizations, but are city-wide affairs. People get together on the basis of their common interests in everything from stamp collecting to jazz or fishing—not on the basis of their professions.

For this city of 65,000 Lena has provided 11 coeducation boarding schools of up to a thousand pupils from 7 to 17 years in each, an indication that she has paid due attention to recent decisions for a vast expansion of the boarding school system.

It is a town of one-way streets with overhead crossings of major boulevards, all well in line with the most forward-looking town planning anywhere in the world. Buildings are simple, with clean lines, stripped of all the unnecessaries.



The thesis was submitted with a certain amount of trepidation and they were three very nervous students who were called before the examining professors. They had drastically broken new ground in many fields. After a brief consultation, the chief examiner said: "Your plan and supporting thesis is so excellent that it is almost superfluous to put questions." He awarded them maximum marks. Which all goes to show that the elders approve the direction Soviet youth wants to take.

SHAKE-UP: There is a big drive on here now to do things the way Lena and her colleagues want. Khrushchev at a recent Central Committee Plenum had some trenchant criticism of conservatism and backwardness in many branches of Soviet industry. Speaking of housing, he said: "There is a multitude of designs. But if you take a closer look, you will see they often vary only in the number of embellishments. But what does a human being really need? He wants comfortable rooms and a conveniently situated kitchen and other facilities. It is from this angle that a human being views the merits of house planning."

"A few words about candelabras," he continued. "It became the tradition to produce not beautiful things to adorn the house but the heaviest candelabras one could make. Because the heavier the candelabras a factory produces, the more it gets, because its production is valued by the ton . . ."

CHAIRS BY WEIGHT: From candelabras, Khrushchev went on to armchairs. "Many customers want to buy not our Soviet-made furniture but look for foreign furniture. Why? Because it is more rational. We give furniture factories plans in terms of rubles. Therefore these factories find it more advantageous to make a big solid-looking armchair, for the heavier it is, the dearer it will be . . . The plan, formally, is fulfilled. But who needs such armchairs? But they think if we were to make ordinary chairs, how many would have to be made to fulfill the plan? So they discuss—armchairs or ordinary chairs? Armchairs, being heavier, win the day . . ."

That Khrushchev — and Lena — are right, is evident at a Building Construction exhibition now open in Moscow. Among the excellent exhibits of modern, assembly-line house-building techniques, there is a display of fine modern Soviet furniture of simple Scandinavian-type design. The furniture section is always packed with admiring Muscovites, but the visitors' book is filled with complaints: "Why can't we buy furniture like that?"

Soviet taste is moving away from lace curtains, heavy candelabra and massive armchairs, but conservatism in industry has been ignoring this. By 1965 Lena's planned city, which looks so futuristic today, may well be the minimum that public taste will demand.

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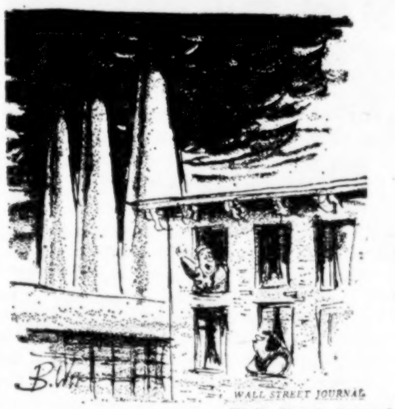

Wall Street Journal

"Well, I'll gladly let the Russians have the air above US!"

PLEAS REJECTED

Green and Winston again denied parole

A FEDERAL PAROLE BOARD which recently freed a New York banker jailed in 1957 for embezzlement of some $300,000 has refused paroles to Gil Green and Henry Winston, Communist leaders who have served more than three years each in prison as Smith Act violators. They became eligible for parole a year ago and were similarly refused then.

The five-man Parole Board on Oct. 6 heard the pleas of attorney John Abt and three clergymen—A. J. Muste, Alva Tompkins and William Baird—who accompanied their pleas with copies for each member of the Board of a bound volume of photostatic copies of thousands of letters asking amnesty or parole for the two men. On Oct. 14 a curt letter to Abt stated that the Board would make "no change . . . at this time" in its previous orders denying the men paroles.

Earlier, on Sept. 30, the Dept. of Justice Pardon Attorney, Reed Cozart, whose function it is to recommend cases to the President for executive clemency, rejected the amnesty pleas with the statement that he could not make a favorable recommendation to the President in the two cases.

Green, Winston and Robert Thompson are the only three Smith Act victims still in jail. Sweeping decisions of the Supreme Court in 1957 attacked the basis for all the Smith Act trials and brought freedom from further prosecutions to Smith Act victims in most areas of the country. Only the Colorado group of defendants were retried and convicted again. These convictions are now on appeal as inconsistent with the Supreme Court rulings.

A parole plea for Robert Thompson is in preparation. Green and Winston may apply again in six months.

Who's delinquent?

(Continued from Page 1)

politicians was less than enthusiastic. Sociologist Robert M. MacIver, who has headed a three-year Juvenile Delinquency Evaluation Project, was struck by "the inadequacy of prevention and early therapeutic measures." To him it seemed "obvious that we can't deal only with the bad harvest and pay no attention to the sowing of the seed and ripening of the crop."

Dr. Frederic Wertham, leading exponent of social psychiatry in dealing with youth problems, was even more caustic. Every time there is a serious eruption of youth crimes, he said, "the Mayor immediately makes a speech, appoints a committee of people who know nothing about it, who never listened to a kid—always the same for the last two decades. They give us cliches and platitudes."

But the knowledge that punishment is not enough does not automatically lead to agreement on what kind of therapy is most effective. Many have been tried; all have exhibited some usefulness and some serious defects. Among these non-punitive programs are: (1) efforts at early detection of potential delinquents through improved guidance work in the early school years; (2) intensified social and psychiatric case work; (3) community-wide rehabilitation programs; (4) street gang therapy, and (5) work camps.

DELINQUENT SOCIETY: While all these programs are helpful and need more public appropriations than politicians are willing to give them, they all fail to meet the fundamental problem: How shall we correct the behavior of, not only the delinquent youth, but also the delinquent society which produces him?

No one seems to have a program to meet this challenge, perhaps because it invites conflict with property and profits and the hypocritical moral code which nourish them.

A Harvard University-directed study reported on Oct. 18 that New York City is increasingly becoming the home of the very rich and the very poor.

Hemmed into the spreading slums, thousands upon thousands of working class youth early learn from bitter experience that their best efforts will get them nowhere, either in the job market or on the social ladder.

BITTER JOKE: The mutually-contradictory and widely circulated myths that the U.S. is a classless society, and that all one needs is intelligence and perseverance to move from the bottom to the top, becomes a bitter joke to him. The success story of the clerk who moves slowly but steadily up to assistant bookkeeper, bookkeeper and eventually treasurer of a giant concern has always been overplayed. But today, with Univac, it has become unbelievable.

Automation, as it increasingly makes superfluous a wide range of intermediate skills, makes it more difficult to bridge the gap from bottom to top. Specialized education—the knowledge to run, repair, conceive and build the new machines—becomes the passport to occupational success. And while more youth than ever before are going to college, the consequences for the vast majority who do not are more devastating than previously.

The Natl. Education Assn. offers an answer to this problem. In a recent report it urged authorities to "orient norm-violating individuals in the population toward a law-abiding lower class way of life."

FORTHRIGHT ATTACK: Put another way, the educators might have said: Give up the American dream of equality of opportunity; let's be honest and tell the poor that they are to be frozen in their poverty; then the disparity between promise and performance will not disturb them; and they will not, by delinquent behavior, disturb us more prosperous Americans.

Working class youth are not likely to be so easily dissuaded from their aspirations. But whether they will seek to realize them through social rebellion and crime or through purposeful social struggle is the key question. And the answer to that depends, not on the politicians, and not even so much on the educators and social scientists; it depends most of all on working class adults—especially those organized in unions—and what they do to mobilize their youth for a forthright attack on the industrial system which is the root cause of their dilemma.

Steel injunction

(Continued from Page 1)

president David J. McDonald laid out the case for the strikers and a team of company officials presented management's side. The union wanted a 28c-30c package including wage increases and "fringe" benefits and continuation of a cost-of-living escalator clause.

RIGID POSITION: Management insisted on a 2% increase in labor costs as a maximum for any agreement. (The union offer was estimated at 4%.) It also wanted elimination of the cost-of-living clause. And it insisted on greater control over local working conditions "to eliminate waste and to improve efficiency." This included the right to determine the size of work crews, set incentive rates, seniority rules and hours of work and to shift workers from one job to another without answering to grievance committees.

After the depositions were made, the New York **Times** reported: "It appeared that if the board was to make any headway in reaching an agreement, industry would have to yield."

Taylor chided the company spokesmen for their rigidity. As for work rules, he pointed out they already had "a rather wide latitude in introducing technological change and adjusting manpower accordingly . . . a situation which . . . many other industries in this country would give a great deal to have."

UNION UNBENDS: The companies countered that the union was more rigid. But when Taylor asked if the union's wage offer was "bargainable," McDonald stood up in the last row of spectators and shouted: "Yes." A negotiating session was quickly arranged and Taylor asked for and got a three-day extension to Oct. 19 of the time the board had to report to the President.

On Oct. 15 the union made a new offer scaling down its demands. It asked for a two-year contract calling for total benefits of about 20c an hour, plus cost-of-living adjustments up to 3c an hour in the second year. It also asked for a labor-management-public committee headed by Taylor to work out a formula which would permit the companies to introduce new machines but would allow for labor and the public to share in the benefits of the increased productivity.

Management rejected the offer and countered with its own: A slightly higher wage offer than it had previously made and a proposal to send the work rules issue to arbitration. McDonald immediately turned down the offer. He said: "The companies have offered a loaded arbitration proposal under which the companies could not lose . . . The issue has already been arbitrated in a fair, unconditional arbitration. The decision was against the companies and in favor of the union. This was in 1952, when the Wage Stabilization Board . . . . considered the whole question of working rules in the steel industry and recommended no change in the present contract clauses."

IMPASSE: At this point the first crack in the companies' united front was made public. It was revealed that Edgar F. Kaiser, representing the Kaiser Steel Corp., had been negotiating separately with the union, although he was a member of the industry-wide committee. He had met three times with McDonald and at the last meeting he had indicated his company would accept the union's offer.

But in what was described as a "stormy session" with the other industry negotiators, Kaiser was pushed back in line. He agreed that for the moment, he would not sign separately.

With negotiations at an impasse, Taylor presented a 37-page report to President Eisenhower on Oct. 19 opening the way for a Taft-Hartley injunction. A few hours later the President instructed Attorney General William P. Rogers to seek the injunction.

ANGRY PICKETS: On the picket line there was widespread resentment at the government's moves to bail out the companies. Some strikers felt they could win during the injunction period if Kaiser would break the industry front. They reasoned that other small companies would follow and eventually U.S. Steel and the other giants would fall in line.

Failing this, they felt the odds would favor them if they resumed the strike after 80 days. It will take the companies from 20 to 30 days to get steel moving again down the supply lines. And there are already enough back-logged orders to keep the mills busy through the winter. A strike in January would hit the companies during their busiest period.

But there is an additional threat to the strikers from Congress, which will resume its session in January. Some legislators have already indicated they will introduce bills to force unions into arbitration in nationwide strikes. Others, emboldened by the easy passage of the labor "reform" law, would like to use the steel strike as an excuse to rush through legislation to place unions under the anti-trust laws and thus prevent industry-wide bargaining.

ALL LABOR AFFECTED: The outcome in steel will affect every other union in the country. Essentially they all face the problem: How to share in the increased productivity due to improved technology and how to protect the workers replaced by machines. The steel union has already retreated substantially from its original position which included a proposal for a shorter work week to spread jobs. It is reduced to a fight for its life. If the labor movement is to mount a counter-offensive against creeping automation, the steel union had better win.

Plans for summit

(Continued from Page 1)

foreign bases.

French President Charles de Gaulle, who would be the fourth in the summit quartet, and West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who controls the base of NATO's military might, have been paying lip service to the principle of a summit meeting while trying their best to forestall one.

DRAGGING FEET: Apparently bemused by his own notion of "grandeur," de Gaulle wants to postpone a summit meeting until France explodes an A-bomb and brings a truce in the Algerian war. French Premier Michel Debre on Oct. 13 also made "maintenance of the status quo in Germany" an essential pre-condition for such a meeting.

Chancellor Adenauer has so far let de Gaulle carry the ball for him. He has approved a summit meeting in principle although he holds the "bilious view that things are going to the dogs at the moment for our side" (New York **Post**, Oct. 13). Keenly missing his advocate, the late John Foster Dulles, he has set about strengthening his control of the Bonn government and making West Germany the largest European producer of armaments next to the Soviet Union.

Adenauer has eliminated all opposition within his Christian Democratic Party and increased his control over radio and TV. The Associated Press reported (Oct. 14) that "a quiet shift in government policy" has brought in a flood of U.S. capital for a vast increase in West German armaments production, including "short-range misslies, electronic equipment, military aircraft and other weapons."

ONE-MAN RULE: The AP added: "Among the major arms projects now under way or shortly to start are the production of Hawk and Sidewinder short-range missiles and manufacture of the Lockheed FIO4 Starfighter, designed to become the Luftwaffe's jet fighter . . . Military planners of NATO could be expected to lift more and more restrictions in order to get the most out of West Germany's industrial potential."

The **New Republic** (Oct. 19) noted "Adenauer's successful assertion of absolute control of his party" and said: "There is no need to project these events into the realm of nightmare; there will be no second Hitler-like dictatorship in Germany. But the greater part of it is going to be more subject to the will of one man than ever—until 1963, at least."

Washington apparently considered a sign of weakness Moscow's willingness not to press for the immediate dissolution of America's foreign bases. For, insead of maintaining the status quo, the U.S. two weeks ago announced it had concluded negotiations for the construction of an intermediate range ballistic missile base in Turkey. This will be the third U.S. IRBM base in Europe, the others being a Thor base in Britain and a Jupiter base under construction in Italy. IRBM missiles, which can be armed with nuclear warheads, have a range of 1,500 miles. The New York **Times** said:

"From a Turkish site, these missiles could be directed against points anywhere in the European part of the Soviet Union and most of central Asia."

STAND ON TIBET: French insistence on possessing nuclear weapons, accelerated West German armaments production and IRBM base agreement with Turkey continued the discredited and outdated Acheson-Dulles "positions of strength" policy. At the same time, the U.S. and its allies in the UN continued without let-up cold war policies calculated to hamper a heads-of-government meeting. This was evident in (1) the discussion on Tibet and (2) Western opposition to Poland's candidacy for a seat in the UN Security Council.

Asian-Africans and many Latin Americans were opposed to the Irish-Malayan proposal that the Dalai Lama's brother, Gyalo Thondup (who had come to the U.S. from his home in India) address the UN Assembly as the Dalai's personal representative and speak for a "sovereign and independent" Tibet. They were unwilling to set a dangerous precedent.

Under U.S. prodding, the Assembly agreed by a small majority to discuss a watered down Irish-Malayan proposal which omitted any reference to "Chinese aggression" and urged respect for the "fundamental human rights of the Tibetan people." Thondup was told he could attend discussion on Tibet as a visitor.

STAND ON POLAND: Much bitterness has developed over Poland's candidacy for the UN Security Council seat to be vacated by Japan Dec. 31. The U.S. has been supporting Turkey for that seat.

The 11-member Security Council has five permanent members: U.S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France and China. Under a "gentlemen's agreement" in London in 1946, one of the six elective seats was allocated to the socialist bloc in Eastern Europe, one to Western Europe, two to Latin America, one to the British Commonwealth and one to the Middle East. It was also agreed that each geographical area would choose its own candidate.

For the last five years the U.S. has ignored the 1946 London agreement and has sponsored against the socialist candidate the Philippines, Japan and whoever it felt needed a special gesture of favor. It has, however, abided by the other parts of the agreement. This year, through 25 ballots Poland maintained its lead over Turkey because many U.S. allies broke ranks and supported it; but it fell six short of the two-thirds majority required.

On the 31st ballot Oct. 19, as a result of stubborn U.S. lobbying, Turkey forged slightly ahead of Poland but fell short of the required number of votes. Further balloting was postponed till Nov. 2. This remained a crucial test of the effect on U.S. policy of the Eisenhower-Khrushchev understanding.

TWO-WAY ROAD: Macmillan is trying to smooth the road to the summit by sending Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd to Paris to coax de Gaulle and by inviting Adenauer to visit Britain. Drew Middleton reported from London (New York **Times**, Oct. 14) that "the British think Moscow is moving slightly toward the Western view." He added: "But agreement, they emphasize, requires movement from the Western side, too."

RESORTS

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Green memorial meeting in Cleveland Oct. 30

THE CLEVELAND Committee for Protection of Foreign Born will hold a memorial meeting for Abner Green Friday, Oct. 30, in Parlor "B" of the Hollenden Hotel. Professor Louise Pettibone Smith will be the principal speaker, and a musical program is planned. The meeting will begin at 8 p.m. Donation is 50c, and all friends of the committee are invited to attend.

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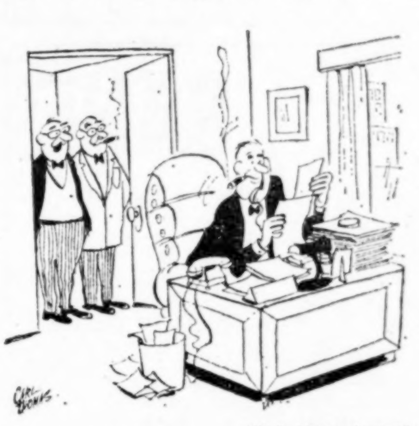
THE GALLERY

THERE IS APPARENTLY a broad spirit of forgive and forget in West Germany. A committee of that country's Bundestag (Parliament) announced that it was willing to overlook a transgression of a Bonn TV quizmaster. It seems that Joachim Kulenkampff opened his show by welcoming his audience in West Germany and "the D.D.R." The initials stand for Deutsche Demokratische Republik—East Germany. But an unwritten law requires all on television to say "the so-called D. D. R." At the committee hearings, Herr Kulenkampff apparently waived his rights under the Fifth and promised it wouldn't happen again. . . A plumber's truck in New York carries the sign: "We fix anything but quiz shows.". . . . TV comedian Steve Allen and actor Robert Ryan have formed a Hollywood Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Their purpose is to work for an end to H-bomb tests. Allen said: "There is no doubt that fallout already has done harm. The only point is how much. Some claim it's only been a little harm. There can be no such thing. When someone's grandchild has an idiot offspring as a result of today's radiation, try telling him only a little harm was done." Other actors in the group include David Niven, Keenan Wynn, Rod Steiger, Inger Stevens, Mercedes McCambridge and Guy Madison. Most said they took their inspiration from Dr. Albert Schweitzer's book, **Peace or Atomic War.** Treasurer of the group is Max Youngstein, vice president of United Artists.

THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA is offering a £1,000 ($2,800) prize for music for its new national anthem. Three verses of lyrics have already been written. Copies of the lyrics and further details may be obtained from the Independence Celebrations Officer, 34/36 Ikoyi Road, Lagos, Nigeria. Entries must be sent before Nov. 30. . . . Police cased a suspected bookie establishment in San Francisco and decided it was too heavily barricaded to carry out a raid before the evidence could be destroyed. So they telephoned the bookie, told him his joint was about to be raided and arrested him as he ran out of the house with a suitcase full of betting slips. . . . Boston's Richard Cardinal Cushing says that because of creeping socialism, "there is danger in this country that we may lose the poor.". . . . The city council in East Point, Ga., fired J. Roy Grayson as superintendent of parks because he permitted white girls to perform in a Red Cross swimming demonstration at a Negro pool. Two of the councilmen who voted for Grayson had daughters on the team. . . . Mrs. Katie E. Wickham, president of the Natl. Beauty Culturists League, was invited to a special breakfast meeting of the New Orleans Young Democrats to greet Massachusetts' Presidential hopeful, Sen. John F. Kennedy. But when she arrived at the meeting, she was asked to leave immediately. It seems the inviters didn't know she was Negro. Mrs. Wickham left under protest. Kennedy stayed.



Wall Street Journal

"I don't know, Harvey . . . do you think we ought to waste a man of his caliber in an executive position?"

A WESTPORT, CONN., HOUSEWIFE watched city workers tear up the street in front of her house for 13 days. Succumbing to curiosity, she approached the workers to ask what they were doing. "We're building a new sewer line," she was told. "Oh," she answered, "is there something wrong with the old one?" "What old one?," a horrified worker asked. When the city selectmen were summoned, they were visibly upset. It seems the city maps they work from did not show a sewer line in that area and they appropriated $1,500,000 to build one. . . . Puttco, Inc., is offering a Christmas gift which is the "perfect symbol of successful giving," for the golfer who has everything: "A beautiful, genuine mink putter cover . . . only $17.95." . . . Dept. of Agriculture chemists have developed an insecticide which lures unsuspecting male moths to a rendezvous with death. The substance, 1, 2-hexadecanediol, which contains the female moth sex scent, is sprayed on tne lining of open-end cans. When the male moth comes buzzing in expecting to find a 36-24-36 female mate, what does he find? Wham, it's Flit. . . . O. E. Goff, head of the poultry department of the U. of Tennessee, says feeding tranquilizers to anti-social hens results in a higher rate of egg production, better quality eggs and lower mortality.

—Robert E. Light

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Lipton to read Oct. 31 for Powell fund in L.A.

LAWRENCE LIPTON, author of **The Holy Barbarians**, will give a benefit for the Powell-Schuman Freedom of the Press Committee Sat., Oct. 31, at 1455 Avon Park Terrace, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

He will be accompanied by the Jimmy Alonzi band in a poetical-musicale presentation. The program will begin promptly at 8 p.m. Donation $1; refreshments will be served.

the SPECTATOR

Mankind marching

PEKING

A YEAR AGO, seeing the crowds at the Ninth Anniversary of China's National Day sweep past Tien An Men Square, I had a persistent impression which my reason denied. An instinct repeated: "This is mankind marching." I had a great sense of security, a sense that mankind was on a good, sure way.

My reason argued: "Don't exaggerate. The Chinese may be a quarter of mankind but they are not mankind." Despite reason, the instinct persisted. Now I know that the instinct was right. And I know why.

I began to understand when I went to the formal opening of this year's celebration, in the new assembly hall of the National Congress. This is surely the biggest, most imposing hall of government on earth with its 10,000 seats and its earphones in 12 languages. (Mongolian, Tibetan, Uigur, Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Arabic, Indonesian, Japanese, Chinese). A leaflet in 12 languages told us how to use the earphones and what button brought what language.

THERE WERE GREETINGS from government delegations from 11 socialist countries, followed by 47 Communist parties of non-socialist lands, and then by sundry "people's organizations": women, youth, students, lawyers (D. N. Pritt spoke for them), the World Peace Council and many more. Even at five minutes each it took two sessions to deliver them all. I got the point early.

They were celebrating not only China's Tenth Anniversary, but something much more. They were celebrating the decisive stage in mankind's march which China's ten-year achievements made possible. They were welcoming, as the chairman said, "our **allies** of the socialist nations, our "**comrades** of the brother **parties**, our **friends** of the peace-loving peoples." And this was a majority of mankind.

I made a rapid count. To speak of the Soviet socialist bloc as one-third of mankind is out of date. It is nearer 40%. And when you add the strength in the communist parties of other lands—and in the various "united front" international organizations—you get well over half the human race. If you count in the aspirations of the mass of former colonial peoples, you find that at least three-fourths of mankind aspires towards socialism, and very few towards capitalism. And if you add Khrushchev's message from his tour of the U.S.—"the Americans also want peace"—you get almost the whole of humanity.

A FAIRLY LARGE proportion were represented in Peking. I don't know how many thousand foreign guests there were in all. There were delegations from 87 nations, more than are represented in the UN.

All of them were saying: This present stage in man's march began with Russia's October Revolution. It was confirmed as a major world shift by China's Revolution ten years ago. But the Chinese achievements of these ten years, added to the Soviet bloc achievements, have turned the tide irreversibly. Mankind marches towards socialism, and will achieve it in peace.

Small incidents, which could hardly occur anywhere but in China, showed that all the Chinese people felt this instinctively. The foreign guests had precedence everywhere—at banquets, congresses, stadium games and concerts—while the people of Peking, instead of being annoyed at being kept out of the best places, applauded the guests who went in. When I came out of the big banquet for Khrushchev—where else in the world can they comfortably seat 5,000 at a banquet?—my auto was delayed till the last, and I saw the white uniformed cordon of police dissolve, letting the people of Peking into the almost empty square. Some 50 or 100 of them—half of them children—surrounded our little group and our auto. I thought they might be irritated; they had stood for hours outside a police cordon while foreigners banqueted in their new government hall.

As we got into the car, they began a soft hand-clapping. I have seldom been so touched in my life.

NEXT MORNING a similar thing happened. The crowds had been forming all night in the streets for the big demonstration; every crossroad and alley was packed. And as our autos pressed along the route to the reviewing stand, tens of thousands of youngsters waved many-colored paper flowers at us and applauded.

They knew they had remade their city and their country in a decade. They knew that famine was conquered and education now would be had by all. But they knew further that the human race was marching to socialism and likely now to get there without any more big wars, and that they themselves had done a lot of the pushing and were right in the middle of it all.

—**Anna Louise Strong**